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UNITED STATES CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HISTORICAL
RECORDS AND STUDIES.

VOLUME V. PART I
NOVEMBER, 1907.

NEW YORK:

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1907.



Henry Jas. Anderson

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ties. Gold has been taken out of the quartz-rock at *Santo Tomás de Cuillay*,⁷ twenty-three miles south of Chachapoyas towards the Marañón. There is the usual talk about mines, more or less rich, and desultory prospecting is going on. To the North and East begin the dense forests of the Amazonian basin, with streams expanding to marshes during the rainy, contracting to rivers and creeks in the dry, season. The *Rio Huallaga* divides the Department of Amazonas from that of *Loreto*, the Peruvian extreme limit towards the Atlantic.

Animal life is more visible in this section of the eastern slope of the *Andes* than further South, on the declivities of the Bolivian ranges. When scarcity of rainfall during winter-months sets many plants temporarily at rest, deadening the brilliancy of foliage without always causing leaves to fall, insects and reptiles retire into the sod for sleep. The larger vertebrates then appear more numerous because they leave their lurking places in quest of food. This so-called dry season lasts a few months only. Already in August thundershowers occur and the traveler, caught by night on the arid seashore along which he must travel some distance before striking for the interior, is surprised at the sight of lurid lightning to the eastward. It rains in the Sierra, and the fiery writing in the clouds indicates to him the whereabouts of the Peruvian mountains.

As soon as the first heavy rains set in in September, and thunderstorms begin to chase each other, reptiles again appear on the surface. The great bushspider leaves its subterranean resting-place. Butterflies flit over pools and watercourses. A toad, the dweller of dense thickets, announces its presence by a cry sounding like an anvil stroke in a still night. Every foot of ground teems with life, often painfully felt, and the air swarms with stinging diptera. The eye admires the luxuriant vegetation and the dazzling colors of large winged insects; the naturalist enjoys searching for undiscovered types and observing familiar species. But human comfort longs for a less animated and less troublesome period of the year.

Among vertebrates *man* is, perhaps, least numerously rep-

PLATE I.

ENTRANCE TO CHACHAPOYAS.

a.



b.



VALLEY OF UTCUBAMBA.

resented. The census of the republic of Peru is, as yet, incomplete, and this is very excusable considering the vastness of the country and the thinness of the population. There are no wild Indians in the neighborhood of Chachapoyas. The Aguarunas, the nearest roaming tribe, shift through forests further north.⁸ They are alternately friendly or hostile, according to impulse and opportunity, and their numbers are much smaller than is supposed.⁹ Towards the Huallaga other tribes appear. The nomenclature of the roaming clusters of Indians is still very confused.¹⁰

The majority of the sedentary population of Amazonas and of the vicinity of Chachapoyas in particular, is composed of village-Indians speaking the *Quichua* idiom, or general language of the aborigines in the Peruvian highlands. In pronunciation, the Chachapoyas Indians soften consonants, changing P into B, T into D. Thus "Pampa" sounds "Bamba," "Suntur," "Sondor" or "Shundur." R turns into L, as in "Leymebamba" instead of "Raymipampa," "Malca," in place of "Marca." This softening of consonants in the Quichua is noticeable both south and north of Cuzco and of the range of the Aymará idiom in southeastern Peru and northern Bolivia. South of the Aymará is a Quichua-speaking population as far as northern Argentina. Whether the hard pronunciation of consonants in the Cuzco Quichua (including Puno and Ayacucho) and the Aymará confining with it, is due to original relationship or simply to contact, is not ascertained.

While the present Indians of Chachapoyas are Quichua, it is not certain whether that language has always been spoken in the region or not. There are local names inexplicable by Quichua alone. The etymology of the word Chachapoyas itself is in doubt.¹¹ A short journey from Chachapoyas there is a ruin called to-day *Aymará-Bamba*, meaning "plain (or level) of the Aymará." There are also names of localities, derived from a tongue of which no trace is left. *Kuélap*, *Camdshian*, *Macro*, are neither Quichua nor Aymará. Legends about the past of Chachapoyas preserved in Spanish sources and from purported Inca tradition, are very indefinite about the tribes that inhab-

ited it in the fifteenth century and before.¹³ When the Spaniards obtained their first foothold in Chachapoyas (or *Chiachapoyas*, as it was written sometimes in the earlier periods¹⁴) after a preliminary visit in 1535¹⁵, they settled at Levanto, calling it San Juan de la *Frontera*. It was afterwards transferred to the site of the Chachapoyas of to-day.¹⁶

Levanto is the first aboriginal name from the region, (that of Chachapoyas excepted,) which I find mentioned. Later on, names of Indian chiefs appear who conducted the fruitless resistance of the natives against the Spaniards. Among these we notice *Guaman* (Huaman), a common personal name in *Quichua*, *Guayamamil*, *Guaquemila*, *Guayamil*, and *Ygaméta*.¹⁷ If these are correctly reported, they would not seem to belong to the *Quichua* idiom. Neither is it certain, that they are *personal* names. Local names have, in early times, not seldom been applied to prominent individuals through misunderstanding. Of local names mentioned, *Quita*, *Longuá*, *Charasmal*, *Coxcon*, *Hasallao*, *Tonche*, *Chillao*, and *Baguá*, are not all *Quichua*.¹⁸ Hence the country of Chachapoyas was once inhabited by a tribe or tribes, that belonged to a stock different from the Peruvian mountaineers, their western neighbors.

As in the case of all other sections of Peru, Chachapoyas was raided upon by the Inca, but regarding Inca conquests on the eastern slope of the Andes there is considerable confusion and contradiction. The most likely interpretation of the nebulous statements seems to be:—that in the course of the fifteenth century a descent was made by Inca warriors upon the upper valleys of the Marañon and a little beyond. The first foray was unsuccessful but, upon renewing the attempt, the Inca succeeded in gaining a foothold and some of the inhabitants moved or were removed to the vicinity of Cuzco.¹⁹ On the peninsula of Copacavana in Bolivia, there is a place called Chachapoyas, and Indians from the coast, from *Huacho*, north of Lima, were called Chachapoyas also.²⁰ The "*Colonies*" planted by order of the Inca dwindle to small groups that, either of their own accord or by compulsion, changed their place of abode.²¹

PLATE II.
RUINS OF MACRO.

a.



b.



INDIAN HOUSES AT SUTA.

There are traces of irruptions and occupation by tribes from the Sierra. The ancient buildings at *Pumacocha* are built after a different plan from that met with further East. There, dwellings are mostly circular, whereas at *Puma-cocha* they are quadrangular. The masonry is good, but the work at *Kuélap*, though as well done, is not Inca work. The settlers at *Pumacocha* and *Leymebamba* were Quichua,²² and may have come from the region of *Cajamarca*. *Leymebamba* is said to have been occupied before the Inca visited the country.²³ Of the Inca roads spoken of by Cieza (and others after him) there is not the slightest vestige.

The Indians around Chachapoyas live in villages, their houses are of stone, adobe, and, in the warm and partly timbered valley bottoms, of wood. The roofs are mostly of thatch with gables at a high pitch. (Plate II *b*.) The form of ancient dwellings was round, with conical roofs, and at a pueblo called *Jalca* there are still circular houses of stone in actual use. Some of these are said to be two-storied and hence appear like towers.²⁴ The costume of the men is of dark blue woollen cloth, coarse, and consists of trousers, wide and somewhat similar to those worn by the Aymará Indians to-day, a coarse white shirt, and a dark-blue jacket or the poncho. Around the head, men invariably wear a red cotton handkerchief, and sometimes a straw hat over it, but usually the handkerchief alone, folded so as to resemble a night-cap.²⁵

Women dress in the same dark blue or black woollen material, which they spin, and weave on primitive looms.

There was (in 1893 when I made my visit to Chachapoyas) a general complaint among the few whites and mestizos, against the tenacity with which the Indians clung to ancient customs and especially against their mode of tenure of lands. The holdings were, then, communal and the areas very large. Thus the village of *Suta* (south-south-east from Chachapoyas towards the *Marañon*) had not over two hundred inhabitants and owned twenty square leagues! Much of this is of course pasture in the high and cold *Jalca* or *Puna*, still the obstinate refusal of the Indians to sell or lease ground which they are not able to use

themselves, is regarded as an impediment to progress. The fairly settled part of the Department where the city of Chachapoyas is located, has not very much arable land. The soil is rich but the surface so cut and cleft that comparatively little of it is capable of cultivation. Nearly every valley is occupied by Haciendas and these valleys are exceedingly narrow. East of Chachapoyas the forests begin, and slopes at Levanto, Tingo, and vicinity, are covered by thickets that oppose serious obstacles to cultivation. At an altitude of ten thousand feet the summits of the heights called *Kuélap*, *Incupuy*, etc., are still densely overgrown.

Among the various statements made to me concerning landed tenure in Amazonas there is one indicating a feature which is not primitive. I was told that every family could alienate the land assigned to it, and that abandonment thereof for any length of time did not invalidate the title. This, if true, would be a first step towards the dissolution of the communities, in accordance with laws passed in Peru after its separation from Spain.²⁶

The village authorities were (always speaking of the time when I visited the country) a *Gobernador*, appointed by the Sub-Prefect (who is the highest officer of the *Province*) confirmed by the Prefect or superior authority of the *Department*; a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Sub-Prefect and for whom confirmation by the Prefect was not required. Disputes to be decided by law of each pueblo were committed to Justices of the Peace appointed by the higher tribunals. Finally, each pueblo had its "*Regidores*" or councilmen elected by the people, and really the only officers chosen by Indians or Mestizos. In religious affairs a *Cura* administered sometimes as many as four villages, each of which had its *Fiscales* who cared for the maintenance of edifices and the collection of tithes and dues.

The Chachapoyas Indians are of course nominally Roman Catholics. But they still preserve a great many rites and customs from primitive times. I did not see any of their dances, but was assured that the dancers performed with their faces painted, or wearing various masks, and having rattles of deer-

hoofs and turtle-shell. Others appeared in the garb of savages from the forests.²⁷ That they celebrate the usual feast-days I saw at the village of *Suta*, and noticed that my presence (purely accidental) was as undesirable to them as it had been years ago in some of the New Mexican pueblos, when they celebrated a special dance of old. Of sorcery belief and the practice of sorcery I heard a great deal.

While at the village of *Tingo*, eleven miles south of Chachapoyas, I visited a number of Indian houses. They were mostly of stone and adobe with a roof of thatch, but some of them were also built of canes. There was usually but one room and the floor was of mud. In case there is a partition (of canes), the main space is used for sitting, working and, sometimes, as dormitory. A platform of canes or sticks served as bedstead.

The scanty furniture was scattered over the floor or shoved into corners. The door had wooden hinges. In the wall facing it was a niche, with the image of the patron saint having before it a bowl or cup of gourd (*mate*) or of clay, or a small bottle-shaped gourd. This was the case in every house but one. On examination of these vessels I found that they were filled with *wheat*! The ancient drum or large tambourine I noticed in every dwelling.

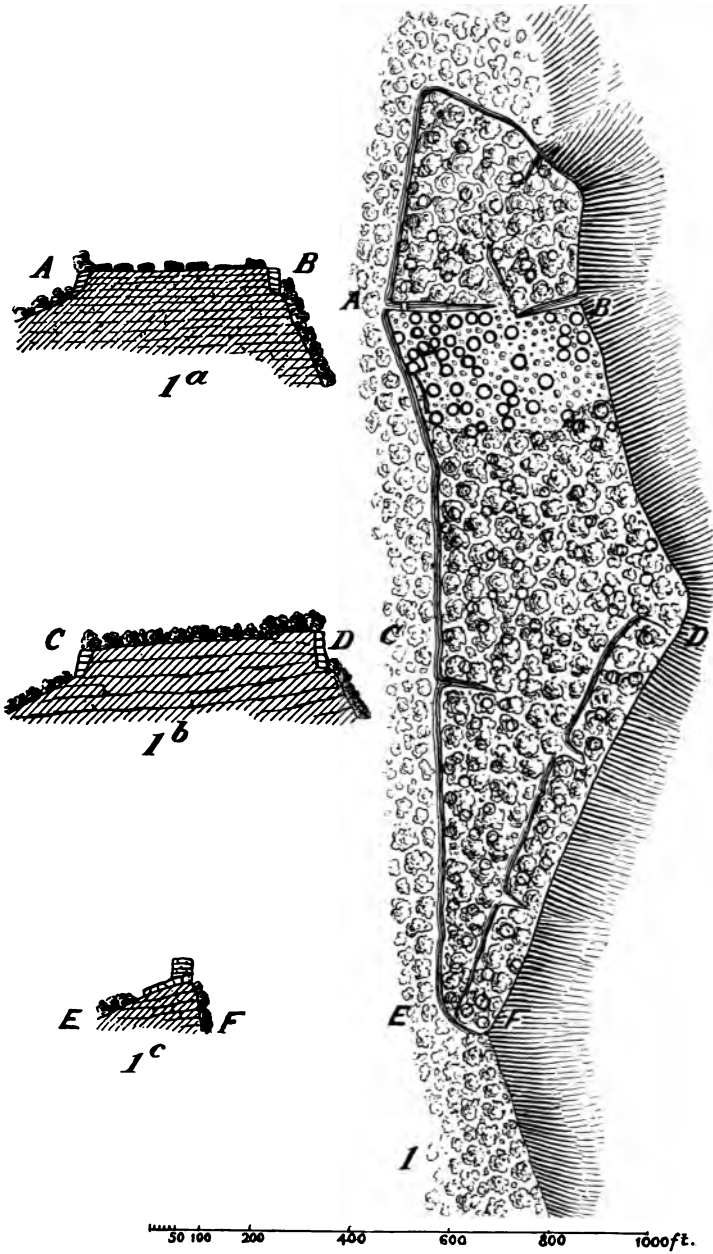
At this village of *Tingo* witchcraft plays an important part. A current term among the people in general, used to designate the Indian medicinemen is: "*Herbatero*." In other parts of Peru and Bolivia "*Herbolario*" is used. Both (Spanish) terms signify the same, namely: one who handles *herbs*.²⁸ By "handling," the use of plants for healing and curing is meant. The medicinemen in Amazonas cure mostly with vegetable remedies, of which the rank vegetation furnishes many. Still I have been assured by physicians that the number and importance of these Indian herbs is much exaggerated. Witchcraft is, of course, at the bottom of almost every Indian "cure." The medicinemen or Shamans, use much white and yellow *cornmeal*! They sprinkle and rub it over the body of the patient. While engaged in this, they constantly smoke tobacco, and this weed, together with *Coca* and a plant called *Shayr*, are their

chief remedies. The "Shayr" is said to be extremely narcotic and is sprinkled in every direction to purify the air. At least this is the interpretation of the process by Mestizos and whites. The word "Shayr" is suspiciously like the Quichua "*Sayri*" for *tobacco* and it might be, that thereby the wild, indigenous plant (growing in Amazonas) is meant, to distinguish it from the cultivated plant.²⁹ Coca or tobacco, sometimes both, are placed under a stone, near to the place where excavations are to be performed, as a propitiatory offering. It is also a charm against the "*Purumachos*." By this name they designate the skulls of their predecessors or ancestors. Dread of these human remains is very great among the Mestizos who claim that the "*Purumachos*" only hurt *them* and not the Indians. I observed this more than once. It is a belief found also among the Aymará and Quichua of Peru and Bolivia, only that among the Aymará the apprehension is not confined to the *cholos* (as half-breeds are generally called). The offering of coca and tobacco, preliminary to excavations, corresponds to the "*tinka*," without which no attempt at excavation in Bolivia would be considered safe or profitable by the Indians.

It was stated to me, that there are three classes of vegetable medicines in use and that the generic name for them is "*mish-ya*." One of the three is called *toyo* and proper to the forest Indians. The other is the justly dreaded *uar-uar*, or red *datura*, the effects of which, when taken in small doses, are said to be tonic, whereas in larger quantities it creates imbecility or insanity. The *uar-uar* or *datura sanguinea* (*chamico* in Aymará) is used all over the Peruvian and Bolivian highlands, secretly of course.

Wizards or Shaman are called "*bruja camajni*." This word appears to be composed of two languages: the Spanish "*bruja*" and the Quichua "*camani*," to make, or to create. These medicinemen are for good as well as for evil. When anybody has been hurt by falling, or by striking a rock, or when he falls ill at some particular spot, the Shaman takes soil from that spot or breaks off a piece of the stone, mixes its powder with alcohol, coca, tobacco and other substances, and rubs it

PLATE III.



GROUNDPLAN AND CROSS-SECTIONS.

KUÉLAP.

over the body of the patient, having first rubbed with it his own hands. Then he summons the evil spirit to which the accident is attributed, shouting: "*Shamu Quish-Quish Ix!*" The same custom, with slight variations, obtains among the Bolivian Aymará, and the spirit is addressed as "son of a dog!"³⁰ "Quish-Quish" is the exclamation by which dogs are often called in Chachapoyas.

The Shamans, as on the highlands and on the Peruvian coast, make frequent use of a species of owl (called *talaqua*) for incantations. The bird is looked upon as a messenger, mostly of *sinister tidings*. It also supplies the sorcerer with charms³¹ intended to do harm. When a turkey-buzzard (*gallinazo*) strikes with its beak at a door, it is said to announce death in the family.³²

Owing to almost constant rains, I could remain in the province where Chachapoyas lies, only forty-five days, and it was not possible, in so short a time, to secure more than fragmentary information. Of this nature is the statement that at the pueblo of *Colcamar* in the vicinity of Chachapoyas, Indians still dress in a more primitive manner. Some of the men wear the hair long and flowing, tied by a ribbon only. Their trousers are short and open on the sides. They recall the breeches of the Aymará of Bolivia, and are called *eslabones*.³³ Some of the women also wear long hair, and both sexes cover the head with the red cotton handkerchief only, discarding the straw hat. On feast-days, women have a silver key dangling from their hair.

I found the Quichua Indian of Chachapoyas surly and disagreeable. In this he resembles the Bolivian Aymará, and mountain Indians in general; those living in the neighborhood of Cuzco perhaps excepted. A few years previous to my visit, a Mestizo by the name of *Villacorta* had fomented an insurrection that threatened to become a war of races. After a partial success of the Indians at Leymebamba (obtained through treachery), they were easily overcome by Peruvian forces from the Sierra, notwithstanding their great advantage in numbers and positions. The punishment of the rebels was

utterly inadequate, and this contributed to make the Indians more haughty and defiant whenever authorities were not on the spot. The complaint on that score was general in Chachapoyas, even among those who had instigated the uprising. Villacorta was never really chastised, and died a few years ago in full possession of his (mostly ill gotten) property.

These fragmentary notices of the present Indians of southern Amazonas should properly be followed by a sketch of the aborigines as they were in pre-Columbian times. The information thus far accessible to me is exceedingly meagre, so that it is almost unworthy of mention. According to official data from 1591, the tributary Indians of that region, at the time of the viceroy Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués of Cañete (1590 to 1596), numbered 7155, representing a total of about 25,000 inhabitants. This did not include the eastern districts roamed over by forest tribes, nor the settlement of *Moyobamba*.⁸⁴

As already stated, there are traces of an Indian population in western Amazonas that *may* not have been of Quichua stock. Allusions have also been made to names hinting at Aymará roots. Without attempting to trace these resemblances any further I would recall that there is, on the peninsula of *Copacavana* in Bolivia, a site called Chachapoyas, the Indians of which speak Aymará.⁸⁵ The Indians of Leymebamba are called *mitimas* or *foreigners* in the sixteenth century!⁸⁶ Such suggestions should not be lost sight of when the idioms of that region once undergo thorough investigation.

Limited, by lack of documentary sources, to whatever testimony the aboriginal ruins could afford, I begin at the farthest point north (vicinity of the capital), retracing my steps south to the Marañon, and thus covering the small area I was able to examine.

East or north of the capital I heard of a number of ruins which I was unable to visit. I was told of ruins at *Cam-Djian*.⁸⁷ They were described as a cluster of circular stone-houses, on a tall crest covered by dense timber. Stone mortars and other implements are said to be scattered among the débris, and the large mortar or round grinding-plate (Plate IX b) is

said to have come from the place. At *Yauh-Can*^{ss} there is another ruined village. In the vicinity of the capital I heard of *Quid-Ji-Jic*. At the salt-deposits of *Bituya* also ruins are said to exist. I saw, near Levanto, a structure irregularly polygonal, and built of stone fairly cut and laid. Like everything in ruins that exhibits a more careful construction in western South America, it is said to be "Inca."

One of the causes that led me to visit Chachapoyas had been that, in 1892, glowing accounts appeared in Lima (from official sources) of the ruins of *Kuélap*! It is not my habit to run after the sensational, but the reports furnished reasons for visiting a region then still of difficult access, and comparatively little known. I used *Kuélap* as a pretext for reconnaissance of the country. Arriving at Chachapoyas, my intention was recognized by the authorities as legitimate (an important point, as the Peruvian government had just promulgated a senseless decree on antiquarian research, which was put in execution *only against me*, and has not been heard of since) and I gratefully record here the kindness and friendship of the Prefect of Amazonas, the late Don José Alayza, of his secretary Don Leopoldo Pérez, and of the Sub-Prefect Don Manuel Arce. Were I to mention everybody to whom I am indebted for hospitality and efficient aid at Chachapoyas, among officials as well as among residents (like Don José Revoredo for instance), the list would be an extended one. I left Chachapoyas for *Kuélap* on September the fourteenth, 1893.

I descended into the narrow and long gorge of the *Utcubamba* stream (Plate I *b*), tributary to the Marañón. The bottom is covered with beautiful vegetation and cultivated in part. On both sides rise stupendous heights; sometimes naked cliffs, again slopes, overgrown with timber, or with shrubbery beginning to display countless blossoms. Above the timbered zone rose the cold Puna or "Jalca," where the potato has its home. In the bottom, sugar-cane and coffee are occasionally seen, oranges and other tropical fruit grow in profusion. Three distinct zones of vegetation may be surveyed by the eye glancing upward for thousands of feet.

We skirted the steep slopes for several hours, and descended again into the gorge, at the *Sargento*, a group of huts constructed of canes and timber, where coffee was raised, as far as the very limited extension of the bottom allows. Trees and rank undergrowth cover every spot not constantly cleared. In the timber are a few shapeless heaps, barely noticeable, that may have been small houses, terraced garden-beds (*andenes*), or buttresses for holding the ground on the slope.

Of the ruins of *Macro*, a short distance only outside of the village of *Tingo*, I shall treat hereafter. Leaving Tingo and crossing the river to its western bank, a very steep and long ascent began, on a slope almost denuded, rocky, and sheer in many places. The glance down to the river brought on vertigo. This ascent took two full hours. On the summit we lost sight of the river and descended into a timbered basin with some cultivated patches. Above it rises a tall ridge supporting a Mesa covered with forest and lined by a high stone-wall. This wall, that looks almost cyclopean from a distance, is part of the ruins called *Kuélap*. The Indians, however, call them "*Malca*," a corruption of *Marca*, signifying house in Quichua, a village or settlement in Aymará. Many also apply to it the Spanish term *muro* or wall.³⁹ This Mesa is (according to Raimondi) 3072 meters or 10,076 feet above sea level. The altitude of Chachapoyas having been determined at 2328 meters or 7735 feet, it follows that the ruins lie 2300 feet higher than that town or over 4000 feet above the Utcubamba river.⁴⁰ As I afterwards noticed, they are plainly visible from the trail between the Marañon and Chachapoyas.

In the basin at the foot of this ruin-crowned height stands the small wooden house of the Hacienda. The timber near by covers other ruins, round structures of stone, some of which we excavated, securing a few broken mortars and pestles, and pot-sherds crudely decorated, resembling the black and white and red and black ware so common in small-house ruins of New Mexico. This place is called *Lirio*. The word may be Spanish and designates lilies or *Amaryllis*, as there are many in the timber and of very striking size and hues. It is certainly

PLATE IV.

THE HEIGHT OF KUÉLAP, FROM THE SOUTH.



a.



b.

EASTERN ENTRANCE AND WALL, KUÉLAP, FROM THE OUTSIDE.

not Quichua; at least not originally. A number of Spanish terms have crept into that language, but I have not heard that word among them. The primitive settlement at "Lirio" appears to have been of very moderate size.

A long slope, tedious to ascend, leads from the Hacienda building to the main ruins, to which (as stated) the names of "Kuélap," "Malca," and "Muro" are variously given. I am inclined to believe that the first is the true one. But there is no certainty. The name is applied to the *Hacienda* in the fifth decade of the eighteenth century.⁴¹ In the census of 1591, "Conilap" and "Conlap" appear, with the numbers of tributary Indians in each place.⁴² *Conila* lies near *Luya*, nine miles (air-line) west of Chachapoyas, hence it is probably the "Conilap" of 1591. The other is mentioned in connection with Levanto and might stand for *Kuélap*.⁴³ If so, then the place had 113 tributary Indians, or nearly four hundred inhabitants. It is very doubtful if, at that time, there was still a settlement on the Mesa.

I heard a story according to which Kuélap was inhabited at the time of the first arrival of the Spaniards. But the general trend of tradition goes to indicate that the ruins are those of a village abandoned *before* that time.

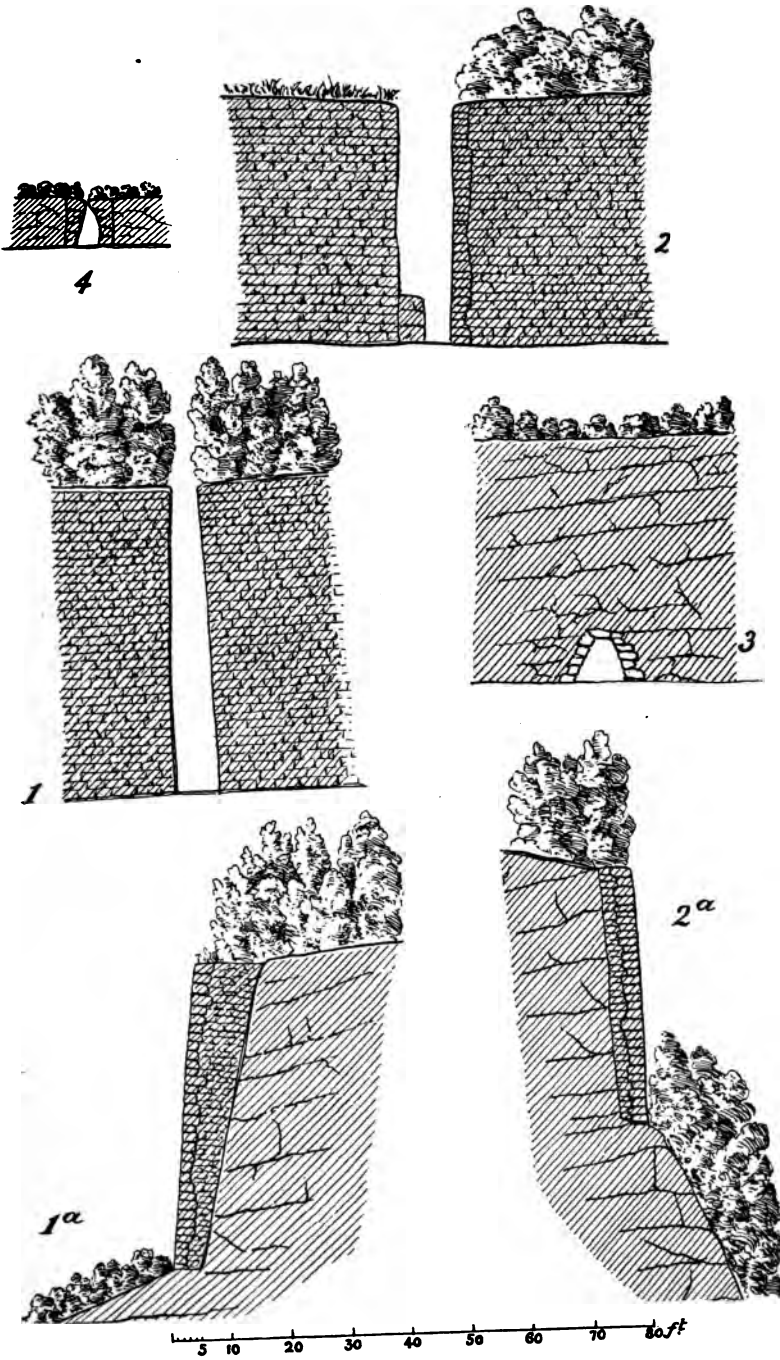
We are told also, that the people of Kuélap were at war with those of Levanto and *Huanca*, and constantly at a disadvantage, until they reared great walls. After that they held their own. An Indian from Tingo, a very aged man, told me, that the inhabitants of "Malca" were *sorcerers* called "*Ualqui Shaos*," and that from the pueblo of *Quemia*, situated fifteen miles to the west of south near the *Marañon*, there came a powerful wizard, a "*Chimal Ualqui*," who in one bound leaped to the top of a steep height called *Incupuy*, a short distance south of Kuélap and with ruins of ancient buildings. A second bound landed him in the gorge of *Sicach*, at the southern base of Malca, whence he jumped to the top of the Mesa, where the people were fast asleep with their feet extended. He killed them all with a hammer. This is like genuine Indian folklore. I heard no tradition connecting the ruins with the Inca.

The tendency of these tales aside from the one stating that "Malca" had been taken by the Spaniards, is, that Kuélap was already abandoned at the time of the conquest. Considering the nature of the place and its commanding position, mention would surely have been made of in early Spanish reports, had it been occupied in 1535 or later.

The height of the ruins above the Hacienda is given by Werthemann at about seven hundred feet. As stated, the bluff is plainly seen from the trail to Chachapoyas. By trail I mean the official "road" to that town, from the banks of the Marañon. Although that "road" lies nearly four thousand feet lower and is five miles away, with towering crests intervening, still the ruins of Kuélap rise above them.

The annexed plan and sections (Plate III) convey an idea of the form and dimensions of this bluff. It is an irregular trapezoid, the greatest length, from north to south, being nineteen hundred feet, and the greatest width (from east to west) five hundred feet. The sides of this "Mesa" are vertical. On the east its height varies between fifty-one and twenty feet, the greatest elevation being from *D* to *B*. Towards the southern end the wall lowers considerably, also towards the northern where, at *F*, it terminates in an angle on which stands a quadrangular tower-like structure. The surface inclines from west to east, and both on the northern and southern thirds of it an upper tier of rocks rises on the western half of the surface. Both tiers of the Mesa are so densely overgrown with timber that I had to cut my way through it. The trees are covered with parasites, shrubs obstruct every step, and stout creepers form almost impenetrable networks. With the assistance of Indians, I penetrated this labyrinth of vegetation in many places and in every direction. Aside from thorny and poisonous plants, my Indians only seemed to fear the tiger-cat, on account of its irritability when surprised. The puma is said to haunt the Mesa occasionally, and we noticed its approach at night several times, but during my stay at the ruins (which lasted seven days) a few birds were the only vertebrates seen. While, after the rains have once fairly set in, the forest is said to teem with

PLATE V.



noxious insects, ticks alone were bothersome and large red ants, that more than once urged me to a change of base for my theodolite. At Lirio, in the course of excavations, a pair of huge bird-spiders (*mygale*) came to light along with pot-sherds, and caused lively scattering of my companions, showing that the little monsters are no favorites of the people.

This bluff is a natural fortress. (Plate IV *a.*) The western slope of the ridge is exceedingly steep; descent and ascent are equally laborious and not devoid of danger. It is covered with the same kind of forest as the platform, and descends for more than a thousand feet to a bottom where a stream of permanent water is running. This gorge is called *Sicsij*, and is but a very deep gash, like all so-called "valleys" in that region. I copy from my journal of September 16, 1893:—

"The spot is a place of safety, well fitted for observation, as it overlooks vast stretches consisting of the usual labyrinth of narrow and deep *Quebradas*, steep slopes and wooded or bare crests. Not a sharp peak in any direction. A wilderness of ridges and gorges, here and there patches of fields and lonely huts."—

The western face of the bluff (Plates III and V, 1 *a* and 2 *a*) is girded, like the other sides, by a wall. Its elevation at *B* is thirty-nine (39) feet and it slopes gradually to both the northern and the southern end-points. So, the mass of the rock is protected by a *stone plating* of varying height and having a perimeter of 4100 feet, of which 1840 belong to the eastern, 1800 to the western face, and 366 to the southern, while the northern end runs almost to a point. This wall is not a circumvallation; it is built against, not on, the rock and consists of an outer armor made of fairly cut parallelopipedons of stone of unequal sizes, about three feet thick, behind which is a filling of rubble two to three feet wide at the base and two to eight feet at the top. The whole represents as many as 760,000 cubic feet of masonry.

The reasons for covering the sides of a large bluff with an armor of masonry were two-fold. First, to prevent scaling of the Mesa; next, to prevent disintegration of the cliffs by

rain. The face wall is carefully laid, and a thin seam of mud originally bound the blocks. In places this has been washed away by torrential rains that would have endangered portions of the Mesa or cliff, in course of time.

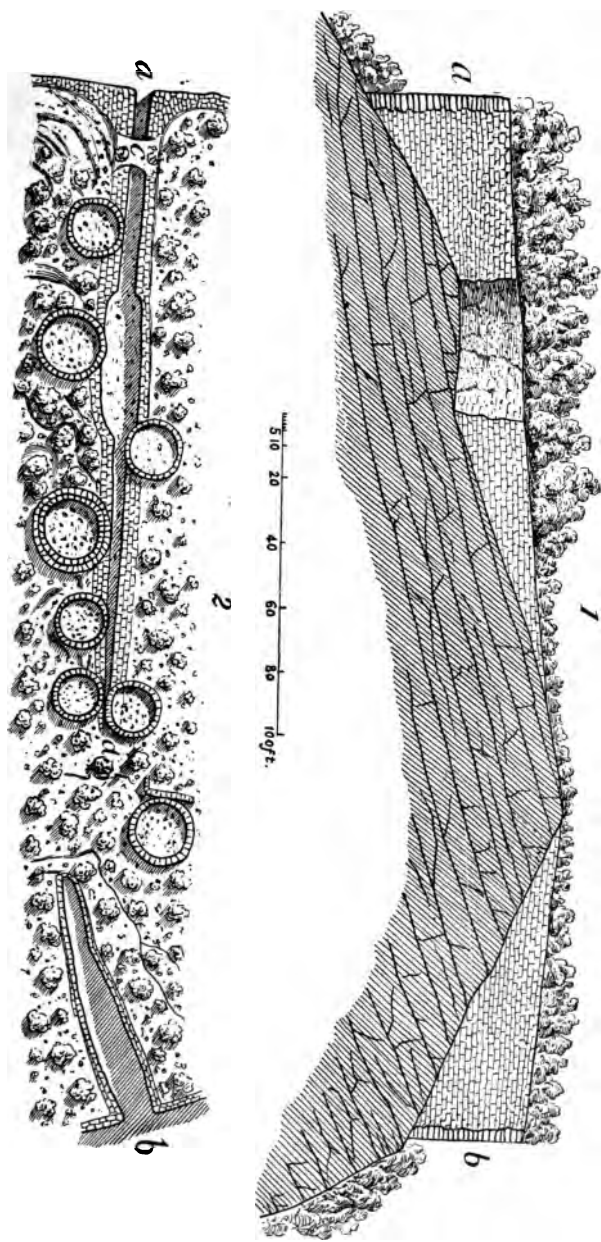
Thus, with its top rendered almost inaccessible, the Mesa still required places or contrivances for ascent. These were supplied by nature. At *A* on the eastern face, a deep cut enters the body of the bluff extending into it westward for a distance of 202 feet. This natural cleft forms a narrow and rapidly ascending passage. At *A* (Plate III, and *a*, Plate VI) it is 48 feet deep, while 202 feet beyond it emerges on the surface of the platform. Nearly opposite, at *B* (Plate III, and *b*, Plate VI), a similar cut penetrates from the west for about 112 feet; 39 feet deep at the western entrance and issuing on the platform 50 feet from the eastern passage, so that there are two narrow inclined planes cutting through the Mesa. Both are naturally uneven, and now partly obstructed by débris, and partly by vegetation that has encroached everywhere. A similar cut, also natural, into the eastern side of the bluff, opens at *C* (Plate III), but it is short and less deep. Hence the platform can be reached by a general ascent at two points from the east, and at one place from the west. It may also be gained from the northern end, but with considerable difficulty (*E*).

The passage *A* is of varying widths. (Plate IV *b*.) At the entrance and for sixty-four feet inwards, it is eight feet at the base, tapering to four above; then follows a widening for fifty-eight feet, due to decay; the remainder begins with a width of four feet and tapers to the upper exit where the artificial walls meet at the top, forming a low gateway (Plates VI, 1; V, 4).

The entrance from the west is ten feet wide on the face, narrowing gradually (Plate V, 2, and VI, 2) towards the upper end.

Both passages are lined by walls similar to those facing the bluff (Plates V, 1, VI and VII). At the upper end the eastern passage was originally closed. A trapezoidal doorway,

PLATE VI.



six feet high, eight feet at the base and a little over two at the top, was cut through the rock and lined with masonry. (Plate V, 3.) The passages are natural fissures, lined by stonework, to arrest the damaging effects of erosion.

The surface of the Mesa is, as already stated, uneven and undulating. These undulations could not be more than indicated on the plan, as they are buried in dense timber. The general dip is from west to east, but there is also one from north to south. Besides there is, as mentioned, an upper tier of rocks, of varying height. North of the entrances a quadrangle (Plate III) has been cleared on the Mesa for about thirty feet in width. On this area, the buildings may be studied with less difficulty.

As indicated by tradition, Kuélap was not simply a place of refuge in case of danger: it was permanently inhabited and a fortified village, its natural strength having been artificially increased. Houses are scattered all over the Mesa. In the cleared space I located forty, and as far as I could examine the timbered sections, there must be nearly three hundred dwellings more. This would give, for the tribe living at Kuélap, a population of not over two thousand souls, or six hundred warriors. That number of Indians could become formidable, in an almost impregnable position. I was told of a tradition according to which Kuélap mustered 11,000 men at arms in its wars with the Indians of *Huanca* and *Levanto*, but this statement, aside from coming from a source that inspired no confidence,⁴⁴ is absurd on the very face.

The dwellings on Kuélap were *circular* structures of modest dimensions (Plates III, VI and VIII), the exterior diameter of those I measured varying between 20 and 29 feet. (See plans.) Their walls, of broken stone laid in mud, rarely are more than 18 inches in thickness. No trace is left of roofs. These houses are mostly reduced to a circle rising but a few feet above the ground. They stand isolated as well as in clusters of two or three (Plate IX *a*). Excavations uncovered rude floors of pounded earth with slabs of stone occasionally imbedded. The soil on the platform is very thin and no under-

ground chambers may be looked for, since the Indian had no means to remove solid rock.

I also measured circular structures that stand on a massive base. One of these bases was six feet above ground and had an outer diameter of 28 feet. On it rose the dwelling proper, measuring 24 feet across, outside. Another had a base four feet high, but its diameter was 50 feet and that of the upper structure 28 feet. Adjacent to this were two smaller circles, measuring respectively 16 and 19 feet across, that appeared like annexes. In these buildings and about them, we found rude mortars of stone, pestles, deer prongs, and sherds of the type already mentioned. Also fragments of flat grinding slabs or handmills, like those in use all over the western coast of Peru. Not a trace of metal or stone-implements, no flint nor obsidian. The existence of stone-axes was mentioned to me, but no specimen shown. It is more than likely that by investigating the ruins covered by timber (which I could not do owing to prohibition) many artefacts will come to light. The forest tribes of Amazonas (like most forest-Indians of Peru and Bolivia) have stone-axes to-day,⁴⁵ and it is almost certain that sedentary tribes possessed them also. Everything of perishable material had disappeared. Around the rims of the solid bases of houses a ring of projecting plates forms a rude cornice (see diagrams). In dense timber on the northern half of the platform, I was led to a group of circular buildings, one of which had a cornice made of a mosaic of lozenges. (See Plate X, *b*.) The stonework on that building (the perimeter of which was but little different from that of the others) was as well done as any on the great walls, and I saw a few others that displayed equally fair workmanship.

In my excursions through timber and thickets I nowhere saw any structure that appeared to be for ceremonial purposes. I found one rectangular house, very small, and another (exceedingly rude) with rounded corners. The tower (at *F*, Plate III, and Plate VIII, 4 and 4 *a*) is a quadrangular, measuring 24 by 25 feet, but a solid mass; it appears, from

PLATE VII.

EASTERN PASSAGE, LOOKING TO UPPER EXIT.



EASTERN PASSAGE, LOOKING EAST.

its position, to have been a lookout. I would observe that the terms "circular" and "rectangular" are to be understood as approximations only. The houses are never accurately circular, and the tower is but an approximate rectangle.

The tower (3, 3 a, 3 b, Plate VIII) stands, as said, on an eminence in the forest, and vegetation on its top is low, so that a good outlook over the ruins can be obtained from it, not as extensive, however, as from the one at *F*, Plate III. It is a truncated cone, inverted, its diameter at the top being 46, at the bottom 40 feet, and the height 15 feet. It recalls in shape the towers of *Sillustani* in southwestern Peru near Lake *Titicaca*. The mass of this building is rubble, and an armor of well cut and laid parallelipedons of stone lines it to a thickness of two feet. Against this structure and leading to its upper level, is an inclined plane of earth. Fourteen feet inside of where that inclined plane reaches the top, an opening, over three feet square, gives access to a *bottle-shaped cyst* that goes down through the whole structure and even a few feet below. (VIII, 3 b.) It is like the bottle-shaped underground rooms for storage, found in the ruins of *Cajamarquilla* near *Lima*, also like the chambers in the *Sillustani* towers. This cyst is lined with very good masonry carefully done and the stones very close-fitting. In it water, from the rains that were then visiting the country, had collected. This chamber looked like a cistern, and the tower is so placed as to receive rain from every direction.

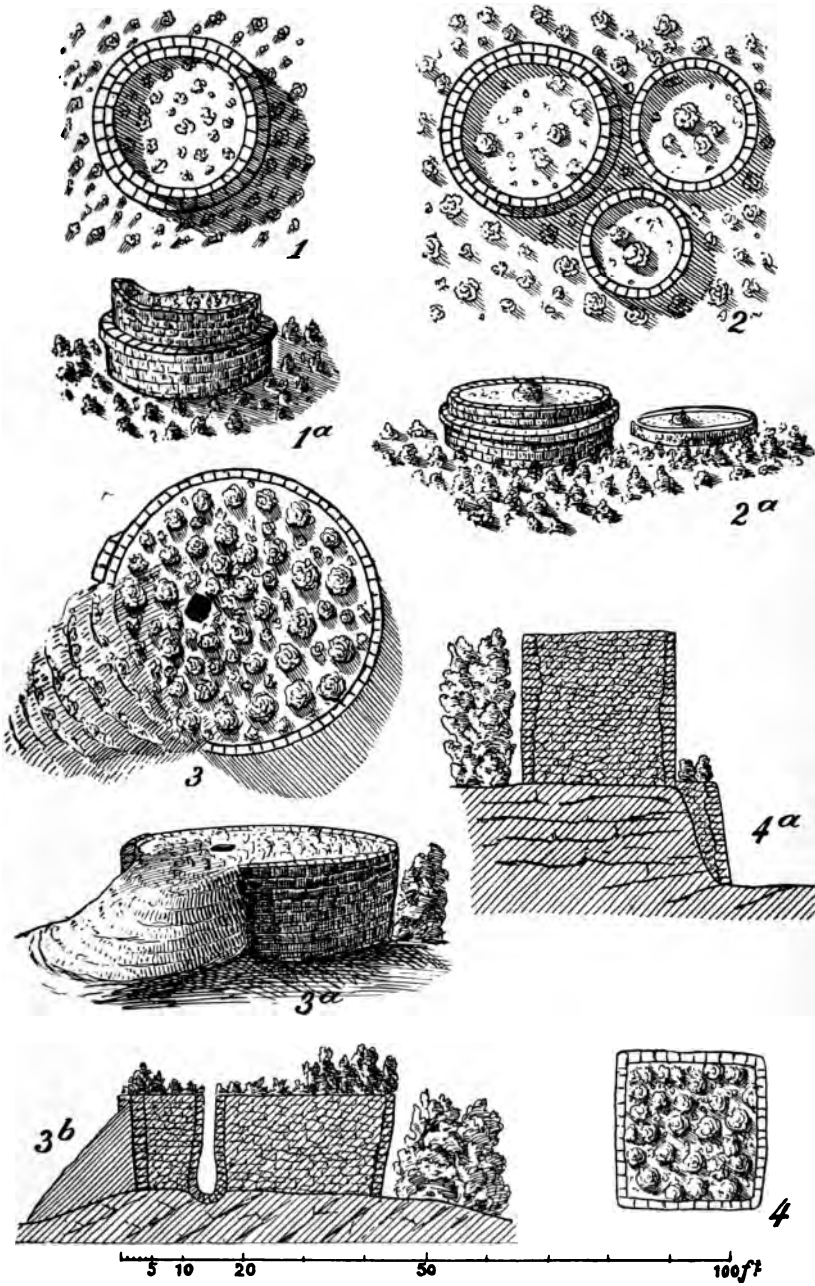
The annexed photograph not only gives an idea of the neatness of the masonry, but also a picture of the only carving of any kind I saw at the ruins. It represents the head of a man and, probably, even two heads, in relief. The figure (or figures) is very rude but has the merit of showing *the head-dress*. I have purposely placed my chief workman, the Indian Pedro Huaman from Tingo, alongside to show how much this headgear resembles that of the Indians of Chachapoyas of to-day. They are so strikingly alike as to arouse a suspicion that the carving might be recent? (See Plate X, a.)

The suggestion that this tower was perhaps a cistern leads

to the question of water-supply. As far as known in 1893, no permanent water had been found on the Mesa. The dense vegetation absorbs all moisture and no pools can form on the surface. Neither had any springs or sources been noticed. When Kuélap was inhabited, vegetation did not cover the plateau in such dense masses as to-day, and if the whole could once be cleared, tanks might perhaps be brought to light that, as at Acoma in New Mexico, held sufficient rain-water for the population. There is a small perennial stream running in the gorge of Sicsij at the western foot of the Mesa. Descent is difficult and long, still Indians make it, also whites and *Mestizos* when hunting, and it is neither steeper nor higher than the *Barranca* out of which the women of the village of *San Mateo Ozolco* in Central Mexico were wont to get the water for their households in 1881. Even if Kuélap (as the legend declares) was at war with neighboring tribes and occasionally hard pressed, this warfare did not and could not take the proportions of a lengthy siege. Repeated harassing raids, discontinued and resumed until a surprise or assault became possible, were the only military operations of which the natives were capable in primitive times. For months and perhaps years, the women from the Mesa might descend to Sicsij unmolested; again a hostile party might lie in wait for them and compel the people to fall back upon some store of water on the platform, until the enemy had been driven off or had withdrawn of his own accord. In these densely wooded ranges, ambushes and surprises (little practised on the barren highlands) were the principal tactics, as to-day among the shifting forest-tribes.

It is not likely that the Indians of the Mesa could practise tillage to any extent. There is hardly room for it. Hence it is probable that they raised their crops either on the slopes or in the valley. There is a group of round houses outside the great eastern wall and the ruins of Lirio may be those of dwellings occupied during planting and harvesting.⁴⁶ There are a number of circular buildings, single and in groups, scattered through the timber on slopes and crests near the

PLATE VIII.



ruins, but the settlement on the Mesa was the only large and compact one.

S.S.E. of the Mesa extends a lower ridge, overgrown with brush only and called *Shundur*. "Shundur" might be a corruption of *Suntur* or *Suntu*, meaning, in Quichua, a heap,⁴⁷ a name sometimes given to circular houses with conical thatch-roofs.⁴⁸ The governor of Tingo who accompanied me on the journey to Kuélap suggested this explanation. Although there is no timber on Shundur, ruins there are more decayed than those on the Mesa. They consist of about twenty round buildings like those described, and of a wall that runs along the lower end of the southern declivity from about E.S.E. to W.N.W. for over 1660 feet. At its eastern termination it turns to the northward and up the slope about 300 feet to the crest, on which the houses are grouped. Between the southwestern corner of Kuélap, and Shundur, there is a depression, and the wall of the latter is so placed as to protect the small settlement from the west, where an approach is possible along the edge of the gorge of Sicsij. That wall is reduced to little more than an abutment. Whether Shundur was an annex to Kuélap, an independent settlement, or one previously forsaken, it is not possible to decide. We found nothing to reveal its relative age and no artefacts beyond the usual pot-sherds.

The great walls of Kuélap are also beginning to crumble. In many places they bulge out, in consequence of disintegration. Rain is constantly washing out the mudseams between the courses and vegetation breaks through the wall or eats into fissures with roots and creepers. (Plate VII.) In the passages entering the bluff from the east, trees two feet in diameter have pierced through the masonry. Man has contributed to this destruction. In many places the front was torn open in search of treasure. This vandalism revealed, that all along the wall, as high as five or six feet from the ground, *burial niches* exist in it, closed by blocks of stone. I saw many of these niches and obtained human skulls and bones out of some. Everything else had been taken out, though I could not learn that anything except

human remains were ever found. I was not permitted to open any myself.

The niches were of various sizes and usually large enough for a squatting body. For the skulls, I refer to the adjoining plate as well as for the other artefacts obtained in the Amazonas region. (Plate IX, b.)

The governor of Tingo, Tuestas, told me that, when yet a boy, he saw the eastern slope of Kuélap covered with skulls and skeletons. This statement was made in support of an alleged tradition according to which the Mesa was inhabited, when Alonso de Alvarado first came to Chachapoyas and that the Spaniards, while besieging Kuélap, had died of hunger.⁴⁰ He also stated that, from the slope east of the ruins, a number of "mummies"⁵⁰ were taken. It is singular that, while human remains in the well protected niches have well nigh disintegrated, they should have remained intact in the thin soil of the slope for at least three and a half centuries!

Niche-burial, in the great wall lining the perimeter of the bluff, was therefore practiced by the people of Kuélap at least in the majority of cases. Lower down (as I shall soon have occasion to state) caves were used for the purpose. But around Kuélap there are no natural cavities nor have I heard of artificial ones. I can only surmise, from what I saw afterwards, that the corpses were placed in a squatting position and possibly sideways, as in many Aymará burials.

In one of the houses, something like a bench or seat of stone was discovered, a rude pile raised against one of the sides. In another a doorway, two feet wide, which had been walled up, showing that the abandonment of the building took place without haste or hurry. Most of the mortars and pestles were broken and some bottoms of vessels showed perforation, as if they had been "killed," as the New Mexican Indians do with pottery when out of use. The story related to me, that Kuélap was abandoned in consequence of an epidemic, may have originated from the skeletons which the governor of Tingo saw scattered over the slope, again it may derive some confirmation from the signs above mentioned, which in New

PLATE IX.

REMNANTS OF CIRCULAR HOUSES, KUÉLAP.



a.



b.

ANTIQUITIES FROM KUÉLAP AND VICINITY.

Mexico, would be construed as proving slow and gradual abandonment.

There is also a story afloat among the white and Mestizo inhabitants, that while the big wall was being constructed those who refused to work on it were immured alive. This is plainly a "Myth of Observation."⁵¹

It is manifest that Kuélap was a village of land-tilling aborigines who resided on the bluff for safety. This feature is not exceptional in that region, although Kuélap is the most striking example so far known. All or nearly all ancient ruins lie above the river bottoms, and more than one shows traces of a platform faced by masonry similar to Kuélap. The nature of the country obliged the native to dwell on slopes and crests. He could not clear the timbered bottoms with tools of stone or copper, and burning of the forest was of no avail; six months later everything was again covered with vegetation. Furthermore, the streams that water the valleys are torrents, subject to sudden and damaging rises. To escape from them, the natives *had to live* on slopes and crests.

It appears, from what little is at my command about the earliest Spanish expeditions into the Chachapoyas district, that its inhabitants were divided into independent tribes, some of which formed a confederation against the Europeans in the beginning. As long as there was no outside peril, these tribes warred with each other frequently.⁵² Hence security from aggression more than anything else determined the choice of a dwelling site.

Tales and traditions are very contradictory on the ultimate fate of Kuélap. The same aged Indian who related the story of the killing of its inhabitants by a wizard from *Quemia* also stated that the people had been exterminated by an epidemic! Not all, for at the same time he spoke of survivors who retired to *Conilo*, *Chiringote*⁵³ and *Santo Tomás de Quillay*! The place is not mentioned by name in any early document accessible to me, nor have I found any description that would recall even faintly Kuélap, or any statement leading to infer that the Spaniards saw it. So conspicuous an object, however,

could not easily escape notice, had it been inhabited in 1536.⁵⁴ Hence, I conclude (until otherwise informed) that the site was forsaken before any white men visited Chachapoyas.

Tree-growth on Kuélap is no criterion for the approximate date of abandonment. Trees, as well known, grow with great rapidity in the tropics.

I descended from Kuélap on another trail. Passing close to the steep height of *Incupuy* I could see the ruins on its top but not visit them. They appeared to be smaller than those of Kuélap and the buildings are said to resemble the latter in construction. But thundershower upon thundershower swept the region and it would have cost too much time and labor to cut the way through timber and thickets. Therefore I returned to Tingo, thence to visit the ruins scattered along the narrow gorge of the Utcubamba river.

At Tingo the heights recede from the river for a short distance, but soon close in again forming a narrow gateway with vertical rocks on the west, very steep declivities on the east, overgrown by thorny plants. On this side and about a mile down the river from Tingo, the ruins of *Macro* are seen from the trail. The annexed photograph is taken from the opposite bank. (Plate II, *a*.) The groundplan shows 21 circular houses (Plate XI, 1), built against a slope that is nearly vertical. (Plate XI, 1 *a*.) Measurements are exceedingly difficult. Some of the houses have the decoration found in the timber of Kuélap and represented on Plate X *b*, lozenges of mosaic work rudely executed. The size of the houses does not differ from those at Kuélap, Shundur, and Lirio, neither does their construction. Macro may have sheltered in the neighborhood of a hundred souls. Its elevation above the vale, and the perpendicular rocks in its rear, made an attack difficult, but it could easily be cut off from water. I copy from my journal of September 24, 1893:—"We passed along the river below Magdalena, after crossing the stream on the covered bridge. Sugar-cane in small patches, many orange-trees, and the usual huts. . . . then climbed slopes covered with a scrubby and thorny vegetation, then turned a high cliff and, after wind-

settlement twice as large as Macro and Aymará-Bamba, I could not learn anything; the people asserted that the quadrangular structure had been a church, a statement to which appearances lend some support. The pottery is identical with that of Kuélap and other points in the neighborhood. Tshushin is probably the place at which, I was told, copper-pins and copper-spoons had been found.

North of Tshushin and in plain view of it, but several hundred feet higher, some almost circular knolls cap a height densely overgrown, to which the name *Pucará* is given. "Pucará" is both Quichua and Aymará and designates a place of safety, not necessarily fortified or walled in, but any naturally strong position, inhabited or occupied. These ruins are indeed in a remarkably favorable situation for defense and observation. Not as elevated as Kuélap, they still command an extensive view and enjoy, besides, the advantage of permanent water. I could not, owing to a heavy thundershower, survey the entire place. The principal Pucára has still portions of "armor" against the rock; the stone-work is even better than on the big wall of Kuélap, and on the summit stand the remnants of some twenty round houses and of several quadrangular ones; also quadrangular enclosures connected with houses. (Plate XII, 2 and 3.) The second "Pucára" lies higher than the first and there one of the side-walls was entire. It measures 22 feet in length, is two feet high on the top, and five feet thick on one side. The number of houses is twenty also. Northeast of these, separated from them by a deep cleft, lies a third one on a ridge, and not far away are remnants of a circular wall. These four groups seem to have formed one cluster. The pot-sherds (which are the only artefacts I noticed) were of the same description as at Kuélap.

While at the Sargento, I heard of a "mummy" in a natural cavity near the bottom at Aymará-bamba. It was so decayed that the skull and shreds of the dress alone could be preserved. These shreds represent an outer envelope of coarse cotton similar to that of ancient coast-burials; a piece of dress, black and white; and a belt in two colors. Then I learned that this

ing around steep and rugged heights, stood in the sugar-cane patch on the right bank above which, on a very steep slope overgrown with cacti and other thorns, also with maguey, stand the three lines of round structures, the lowest of which is at an elevation of 195 feet above the river banks. It was hard work to climb this slope, every step having to be cut out. Upon arriving, found the ruins to be but three superposed rows of circular houses, some one story, others two stories high, exactly like those of Malca and the other ones so far seen by me. Plying themselves to the nature of the ground, the circular form has been preserved outside....or several houses have been so joined as to present but a very slightly undulating front. All walls are well constructed and of the usual thickness of eighteen inches about. Little niches in the walls, no windows, but in one place an *Olla* walled in so as to serve as a niche, and a sculptured stone also sunken in the wall, representing the face and a part of a human body."

"Three of the houses of the uppermost tier have a rim of lozenge-shaped mosaic, but we saw nothing else of importance, not even pot-sherds. Some of the chambers are partly carved out of the rock and a thin wall of stone has been placed against the natural surface. The houses are clearly, in part, on a platform or basis which serves as substructure and foundation.On the height on the opposite side of the river there are circular houses scattered, and going towards *Magdalena* we encountered several of the same description on the slopes towards the river and descending from the pueblo."

From Tingo I followed the Rio de Utcubamba again as far as the Sargento, where I remained four days, improving intervals between thundershowers for the examination of ruins in that neighborhood.

About a mile from the Sargento and above a cluster of modern huts bearing the unusual name of *Oclél*,⁵⁵ are the ruins of *Aymará-Bamba*. This name is interesting as meaning "plain of the Aymará." They rise on a gradual slope near the bottom (see Plate XI, 2 and 2 a) and contain about twenty round houses, some of which stand in a gulch forming the

northern limit of the old settlement. Across this, as well as across the southern gulch, dams or buttresses of stone have been erected recalling the dykes in the beds of the torrents of *Sonora* (northern Mexico) and there called "Banquitos." Most of the houses, however, stand on a ridge between both gulches. The highest part of the ruins is 185 feet above the valley. Here I saw a number of "Batánes"⁸⁶ and obtained a well made grinder. Pot-sherds were exactly like those at Kuélap, black and white, or without decorative lines.

One hour of tedious ascent above this ruin, on a narrow crest nearly a thousand feet above the bottom, buried in dense shrubbery, are the ruins to which the name of *Tshu-Shin* is given, but better known to the people as *Shivanu Cunga*. (Plate XI, 3.) The latter has one Quichua word in it: *Cunga*, which means a point or crest that can be passed, and is appropriate for the site. It seems to be the more recent name. *Tshushin* is *not* Quichua. I refer to the plan for an idea of the place. The circular houses, about forty in number, lie on a narrow and elongated plateau protected by a stone wall imitating on a small scale the wall of Kuélap. It is only about four feet high and built rather to prevent the soil behind from being washed away than for defense. In one place of this wall I saw a broken inclined plane, like those on the Peruvian coast at *Surco*, *Pachacamac* and *Chan-Chan* (Plate XII, 4). This double ascent, each section of which is about 14 feet long and five feet high (the first incline being lower than the wall) leads to the plateau on which the houses stand. At its southern end and somewhat below is an angular structure (see plate XII, 1) also of stone, better built than the round houses and suggesting Spanish origin by its court resembling a cemetery. It has a window and several niches, and in one of these I found the remains of what the people had told me was a "mummy." Only a few bones and shreds of dark blue cloth were left; the skull was gone. From their size they appeared to be the remains of a woman, and I gathered the impression that they were placed there *after* the abandonment of the place; perhaps for purposes of witchcraft. Of the past of this ruin which was a

settlement twice as large as Macro and Aymará-Bamba, I could not learn anything; the people asserted that the quadrangular structure had been a church, a statement to which appearances lend some support. The pottery is identical with that of Kuélap and other points in the neighborhood. Tshushin is probably the place at which, I was told, copper-pins and copper-spoons had been found.

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vicinity abounds in natural cavities and crevices used anciently for burials. Most of them are very difficult of access and it is natural that the natives should have resorted to them. The bottom was timbered, slopes are constantly washed by torrential rains, so that holes in the rocks, crevices, and rents were the only places where bodies might be preserved. I am not certain, however, that the remains near Aymará-bamba are ancient. The textiles are too suspiciously like those from the coast. Should more be found it would perhaps indicate that the former inhabitants wore the same costume as those on the Peruvian seashore. I also obtained a few pieces of whole pottery, but they were, with one or two exceptions only, from the banks of the Marañon in the west. Two of them recall the plastic ancient coast pottery. One has a greenish glaze that may be due to subsequent heating. These jars were in private hands and had been used for household purposes for many years. It is not unlikely they suffered accidental re-baking. (Plate IX, b.)

I left Chachapoyas on October 11th. The weather allowed no further explorations and furthermore, I was called to the coast by important news.

While on my way to Chachapoyas in September, I had measured some ruins at *Chauar*,⁵⁷ between Leymebamba and Suta, which are much decayed. They appear to be walls of the type of those of Pucára, built against the slope of a wooded hill. No artefacts were seen. I mention them here, as the route which I took on my return deflected from the main road before reaching Suta. The party accompanying me, which the Prefect led in person, crossed the river at Lope-cancha to the west side and we spent the first night at the Hacienda of *Sumén* in a gorge covered by the usual vegetation. The vale is exceedingly narrow, and the fields of wheat, corn, and barley are mere patches. At Sumén I was shown a natural cavity high up on the opposite side, of which it was stated it contained "mummies." Here also, the tale of the abandonment of Kuélap in consequence of the coming of the Spaniards was repeated to me. Ancient remains were spoken of, chiefly caves and houses built against the rock, a statement borne out by the

settlement twice as large as Macro and Aymará-Bamba, I could not learn anything; the people asserted that the quadrangular structure had been a church, a statement to which appearances lend some support. The pottery is identical with that of Kuélap and other points in the neighborhood. Tshushin is probably the place at which, I was told, copper-pins and copper-spoons had been found.

North of Tshushin and in plain view of it, but several hundred feet higher, some almost circular knolls cap a height densely overgrown, to which the name *Pucará* is given. "Pucará" is both Quichua and Aymará and designates a place of safety, not necessarily fortified or walled in, but any naturally strong position, inhabited or occupied. These ruins are indeed in a remarkably favorable situation for defense and observation. Not as elevated as Kuélap, they still command an extensive view and enjoy, besides, the advantage of permanent water. I could not, owing to a heavy thundershower, survey the entire place. The principal Pucára has still portions of "armor" against the rock; the stone-work is even better than on the big wall of Kuélap, and on the summit stand the remnants of some twenty round houses and of several quadrangular ones; also quadrangular enclosures connected with houses. (Plate XII, 2 and 3.) The second "Pucára" lies higher than the first and there one of the side-walls was entire. It measures 22 feet in length, is two feet high on the top, and five feet thick on one side. The number of houses is twenty also. Northeast of these, separated from them by a deep cleft, lies a third one on a ridge, and not far away are remnants of a circular wall. These four groups seem to have formed one cluster. The pot-sherds (which are the only artefacts I noticed) were of the same description as at Kuélap.

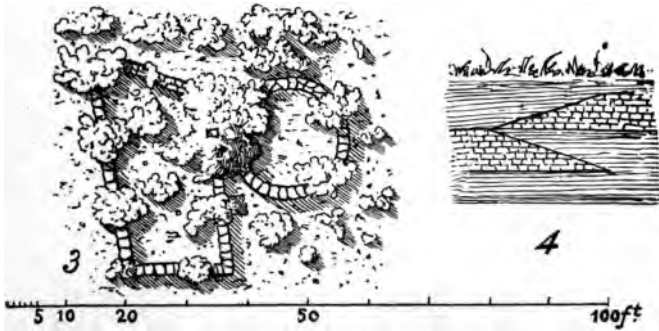
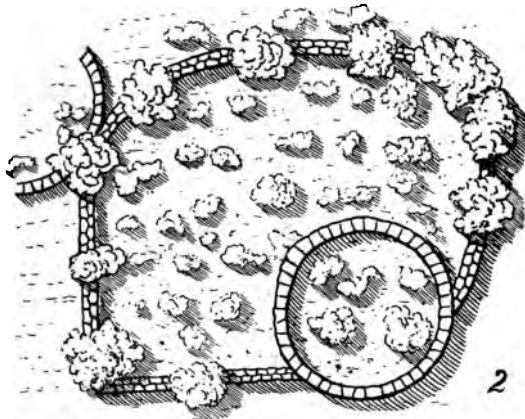
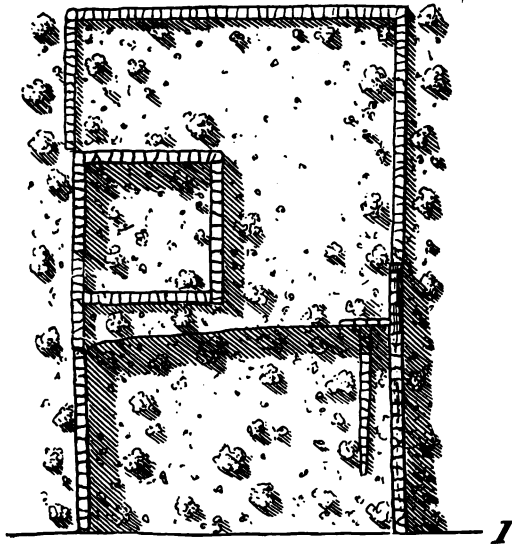
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PLATE XII.



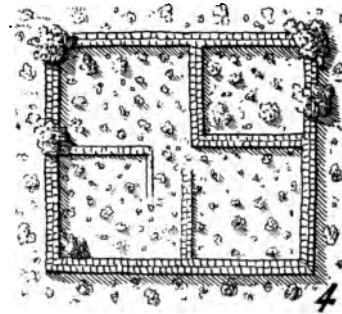
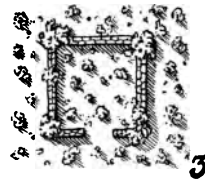
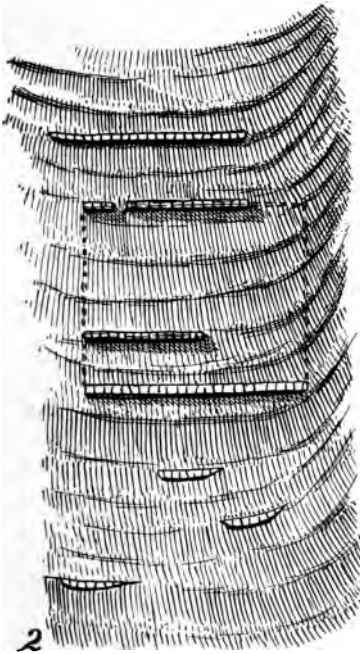
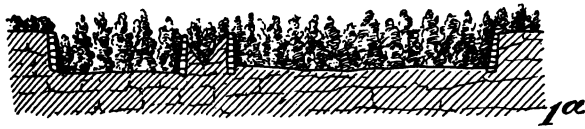
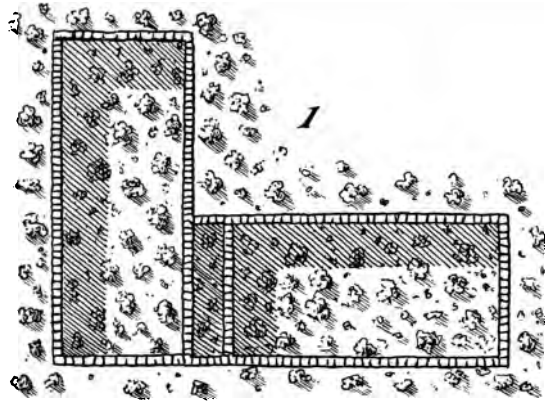
numerous cliffs looming up along the heights. Santo Tomás de Cuillay was said to be the place where caves formerly inhabited were best represented, and the Prefect insisted I should accompany him to some abandoned gold mines in that vicinity. Cuillay⁵⁸ lies on a plateau above a deep cleft and had, then, about a thousand inhabitants, mostly Indians; with a church, and some larger houses of stone and adobe, while the majority are huts. The caves were pointed out to me from the village; they are on the brink of a cliff opposite, and appear to number only a dozen close to each other. To visit them would have entailed more time than I could dispose of, better state of health, and less rain. We went to the so-called mines, some of which were old Spanish workings abandoned when the Spaniards were expelled from Peru. They were again worked for a short period, fifty years ago, by an Englishman, whom the people of the village drove away. Thirty years after, another attempt was made with native capital, which also failed. The gold is imbedded in quartz and the percentage so variously stated that I do not care to repeat it. From Santo Tomás I returned to the Marañon at Balsas by the way of *Gollon*, leaving the ruins at *Puma-Cocha* to the east. These ruins were said to be Inca. Their general aspect does not agree with that opinion, neither did they appear to resemble Kuélap. What I saw when coming to Chachapoyas was a little vale covered with fine grass and flanked by steep hills overgrown by ferns and low shrubbery. A limpid stream runs through the valley, and ruins are scattered on the brow of the lowest hills. They looked like quadrangular stone-houses with enclosures, the walls fairly constructed, but not of the nice-fitting masonry characteristic of Inca buildings. A low and shapeless mound stands in the bottom of the vale. Puma-cocha lies near the edge of tree-vegetation, and I gathered the impression that it had not been a settlement of much importance.⁵⁹ Dr. Midden-dorf visited Chachapoyas a few years previous to my journey to Amazonas, exclusively in quest of remains of the Inca, and I was assured that he returned disappointed, not having found any trace of Inca architecture. I obtained the same impression.

It is certain that the circular house or dwelling, of stone and mud, with its roof of thatch is used to-day.⁶⁰ The ruined dwellings at Kuélap and elsewhere were of the same type, hence the present Indians either copied the architecture of unknown predecessors or belonged to the same stock. The circular house is common on the old Puna of Peru and Bolivia and in the latter country it seems to be as old a type as the quadrangular. In Amazonas the quadrangular has superseded the round. Still, in central Bolivia, the round form is mostly given to out-houses or storerooms, to annexes of the dwelling proper.

My journey from Santo Tomás to Gollon had to be made across an angle of the Jalca or Puna, and in a tempest of rain, hail and sleet. We were constantly in a dense cloud. The storm subsided as we descended into the warm and handsome gorge where the Hacienda of Gollon stands. I heard of no ruins in that neighborhood. After crossing timbered clefts, we climbed a spur of the sides, where the trail runs along some of the most frightful precipices I ever saw. The walls are, for hundreds of feet, as sheer as masonry and the path often hardly wide enough for a horse or mule. I felt decided relief when these dizzy stretches were overcome and the crest of *Cachaconga*, also dangerous from disintegrating rock and abruptness, lay behind us. From its summit we saw again the chasm in which runs the Marañon river at least six thousand feet below.⁶¹ Descent to its banks at *Balsas* was made in four hours. We were on the regular road to the coast.⁶²

Balsas is a hamlet and, as the foregoing indicates, in a very deep gorge, on the banks of the muddy and swift Marañon. Its elevation above the sea being (according to Raimond) only about three thousand feet;⁶³ the climate is hot. Thorny plants prevail, tall *Cerei* being as abundant as on the upper Yaqui river of Sonora. I could not help recalling vividly the gorges of the Yaqui at Durazo and Guassavas, when I saw the thickets and arboriferous Cacti of this part of the Marañon, and the analogy is emphasized by temperature and scenery. On the north or Amazonas side, where Balsas stands, the bottom expands somewhat; on the other side there is barely room for cultivation,

PLATE XIII.



5 10 20 50 100 f

but it has an Acequia, although much less level ground. Near Balsas, coca of an inferior quality is raised. The Marañon runs through similar chasms for a considerable distance and there are few settlements on its banks as far as the *Pongo de Manseriche* (where it enters the Amazonian basin proper), more than two degrees north and about one degree east.⁶⁴ Although I heard of ruins in the long and deep cleft, there seem to be none of importance, which is also to be inferred from early descriptions. But I was assured that ruins existed in the immediate vicinity of Balsas, and therefore proceeded to examine them.

I found that none of the buildings resembled Inca work, but still it was superior to what I had yet seen in Chachapoyas, and rather resembled the so-called "church" at Tshushin. On the slopes are remains of ancient terraces and on the crests structures, quadrangular, and built of pieces of the hard granite with crystals of feldspar which is the rock in situ. I refer to accompanying plans and diagrams. (Plate XIII.) Immediately above the river is the depression (1 and 1 a, Plate XIII) similar to a double tank four feet deep and lined by a stone wall inside. The separation is by a double wall filled in with rubble and eight feet thick. The pot-sherds lying about the ruins resemble those at other places in Amazonas, but there is, besides, corrugated ware and some with decorations representing uncouth human and animal forms. The latter recall the plastic pottery which I obtained at the Sargento and of which I was told came from *Mendan*.

In regard to the age of these structures it is likely they do not antedate the period of the conquest by many years. It is stated on the authority of a priest who administered "Reque," a coast village, where one of the coast-languages was spoken in 1644, that the same idiom was used by the Indians of Balsas who were descendants of coast-Indians transferred to the Marañon not two hundred years prior to 1644, in consequence of the raids of the Inca upon their settlements.⁶⁵ Should this statement be otherwise confirmed it might be worth while to look for the origin of some local names along or near the Marañon,

among the coast languages of Peru. Names like *Tupeng*, *Mendan* and the like, do not seem to be Quichua. How far beyond the Marañon the reported "colonies" from the coast may have reached, I have not been able to ascertain.

I left Balsas on the twentieth of October, returning to Cajamarca leisurely in five days, heavy rains and delays of the pack train detaining me at Celendin for two days, during which it was not possible to do any work in the field. My trip to the Amazonas Department had been a reconnoissance only, which proved, that there is in that section of northern Peru a rich field for archæological and ethnological investigation. But, even if such investigations should be undertaken, their result will remain in doubt so long, until documents can be procured that contain much more detailed (while of course authentic) information about the Indians of Chachapoyas in their primitive condition than as yet known. Without the support of documentary information, the past of a people and its culture remain always a matter of conjecture, at least to a certain extent.

AD. F. BANDELIER.

New York City, February 12, 1907.

NOTES.

¹ Antonio Raimondi: *El Perú* (Tomo III, Libro II, Cap. XXVIII, page 529). Altitude, 2328 meters or 7636 feet. The figures are those of Mr. Werthemann, a German civil and mining engineer and long resident of Peru.

² Raimondi, *El Perú* (ut supra), mean annual temperature: 18,8° C. after Werthemann. Equal to 59,7° F. But I do not know the length of time the observations embraced.

³ Called in Mexico *Ahuacate*, *Persea gratissima*.

⁴ *Lucuma obovata*; see Raimondi, *Elementos de Botánica* (Lima, 1857. "Índice de los nombres vulgares.")

⁵ *Ochroma piscatoria* (Raimondi, ut supra).

⁶ Also called *Vituya*. Raimondi, *Perú* (Volume III, Lib. II, page 529). Altitude, 1963 meters or 6438 feet.

⁷ In the *Atlas del Perú* by Raimondi, fol. 12, the altitude of the village is given at 2891 meters or 9482 feet.

* *Atlas del Perú*, Raimondi, fol. 7, the Aguarunas are placed S. of the great bend of the Marañon, about in Latitude 4,30°.

* It is usual to exaggerate the numbers of Indians roaming in the forests. Their constant shiftings are the cause of this. I have, for instance, heard it gravely asserted, that the *Campas* or *Chunchos* numbered hundreds of thousands.

¹⁰ It would not be easy, for instance, to identify many of the tribes mentioned by Tschudi, *Peru, Reiseskizzen aus den Jahren 1838—1842*, (Vol. II, pp. 222 et seq.) with the names of clusters of wild Indians named in the *Compendio histórico de los Trabajos, Fatigas, Sudores y Muertes que los Ministros evangélicos de la Seráfica Religion han padecido por la Conversion de las Almas de los Gentiles en las Montañas de los Andes, pertenecientes á las Provincias del Peru*. (Lima, 1852, by Father José Amich, J.S.

¹¹ *Chacha*, according to Tschudi, *Die Kechua-Sprache, Wörterbuch* (1853, page 232), means: "to shake the dust from clothes." For Chachapoya, while he mentions the word (p. 233), he gives no translation. Nor does Father Diego Torres Rubio, *Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua Quichua* (Lima, 1754).—In Aymará, *Chacha* means man or husband. See Father Ludovico Bertonio, *Segunda Parte del Vocabulario Aymará* (July 1612, fol. 68).—To-day, *Puyu* is used to designate a feather in Aymará and is so translated in the *Vocabulario de las Voces usuales de Aymará al Castellano y Quichua* (La Paz, 1894, page 17). There is hardly any comfort to be derived from these data. But there is a singular statement by Garcilasso de la Vega, in *Comentarios reales* (Volume I. I consult the Editio princeps published at Lisbon in 1609 with colophon from 1608, Lib. VIII, Cap. II, folio 198). He calls the Chachapoyas "*Chachas*" adding: "que tambien admitian este nombre."—*Chacha*, as stated, signifies *man* in Aymará. "*Puhuyu*" in Quichua, means cloud, mist, or fog. Garcilasso (fol. 197) also says that Father Blas Valera asserted Chachapuya to signify "place of strong men." Until otherwise informed I place no faith in this explanation.

¹² Only names of localities are given, without direct reference to any tribal appellation, the example recorded in the note preceding excepted.

See Antonio de Herrera: *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y la Tierra firme del Mar Océano* (Edition of 1726, Vol. II, Década V, pages 74, 97, 172, etc.). But he also writes *Chachapoyas*.

¹³ Herrera, *Historia general* (Vol. II, Década V, page 171), puts the date of 1535. In the *Primeros Descubrimientos y Conquistas de los Chachapuyas por el Capitan Alonso de Alvarado* (in volume IV of the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Ultimo Apéndice, pages II et seq.) no date is given, but the departure of Alvarado on this preliminary reconnaissance is placed: "despues de haber (Pizarro) despedido en el Cuzco á D. Diego de Almagro, que iba á su descubrimiento de *Chiriguana* ó de *Chilli* . . ."—The agreement between Pizarro and Almagro, subsequent to which Almagro left for Chile, bears date June 12, 1535,

hence Alvarado began his first journey to Chachapoyas, it seems, in the second half of that year. He was accompanied by thirteen men: *Primeros Descubrimientos y conquistas de los Chachapuyas* (page II). This expedition only went as far as *Cochabamba* (Idem p. III): "y él, despues de haber hablado largo con los señores y tomado dellos noticia de la tierra de adelante y esforzándolos con la amistad, de los españoles, volvió á Trujillo, de donde no paró hasta la mar á informar al gobernador de lo que pasaba . . ." The *Primeros Descubrimientos* are taken from the third part of Cieza of Leon, *Crónica del Perú MS.* (page II). Following upon these chapters from Cieza is a *Memoria de las Cosas primeras que acontecieron en los Chachapoyas*, written by an Indian called Juan de Alvarado and in which it is said that Alonso de Alvarado asked leave to explore Chachapoyas: "año y medio, poco mas ó menos, despues de poblada esta ciudad de Lima . . ." (page XIV.) The act of foundation of Lima bears date January 18, 1535: *Libro primero de Cabildos de Lima* (Vol. I, Lima, 1888; page 10). This would place the first journey of Alvarado in the second half of 1536. I do not rely much on Indian dates; they are usually vague. All that seems positive is that the expedition took place, either late in 1535 or early in 1536.—The late Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, editor of the invaluable collection of *Relaciones geográficas* (already quoted), in Vol. IV, page XXVIII, assigns to the first expedition to Chachapoyas the date of 1535.

²⁵ The date of that settlement is given as 1536 by Cieza, *Primera Parte de la Crónica del Perú* (in Vedia, *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Volume II, page 428). "Pobló y fundó la ciudad de la Frontera de los Chachapoyas el capitan Alonso de Albarado en nombre de su majestad, siendo su gobernador del Perú el adelantado don Francisco Pizarro, año de nuestra reparacion de 1536 años." On page 469, Chap. IX of the *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Perú, y de las Guerras y Cosas señaladas en ella*, by Augustin de Zárate (in Vedia, Volume II, also), it is stated: "Mas adelante otras ochenta leguas hay una provincia que se dice de los Chachapoyas, donde hay una poblacion de cristianos que se intitula Levanto . . . Esta provincia pobló de cristianos el mariscal Alonso de Albarado, á quien estaba encomendada."—Zárate came to Peru in 1544 on an important mission.—Herrera, *Historia general* (Volume I, Description, page 42): "En esta Provincia entró el Mariscal Alonso de Alvarado, año de 1536 por órden del Marqués Don Francisco Picarro, i la pacificó, i pobló la dicha Ciudad en un sitio fuerte, llamado Levanto, i despues se pasó á la Provincia de los Guancas." (Idem, Volume II, Decada V, page 174.) "Y poco despues de esto, quando Alonso de Alvarado acabó de pacificar estas Provincias, fundó en ellas una Ciudad, que llamó San Juan de la Frontera, en un sitio dicho Levanto, Lugar aspero, i que para fabricar las Casas, fué necesario allanarle con Picos, aunque presto la mudó á los Guancas, porque se halló ser Comarca mas sana."—*Guancas* is now a very small place three miles north of Chachapoyas.—Jimenez de la Espada in *Relaciones geográficas* (Vol. IV, page XXIII) inclines to the

belief, that Chachapoyas was only founded in 1538, and it is indeed singular that no mention is made of the foundation in the *Memoria*, also that in the *Tercera Parte de la Crónica del Perú* (Chap. LXXXIV, quoted by Jimenez) it is stated that Alvarado "fundó y pobló en el valle de Levanto la ciudad de la Frontera" after the battle of Salinas, April 1538!—In the *Primeros Descubrimientos* (page XII), Cieza states that Alvarado told the Indians that he *would* establish a Spanish town, *after he had further explored the country*. It is therefore likely that the opinion of the distinguished Spanish antiquarian is correct and 1538 the date we must accept for the foundation of Chachapoyas. If not, then the presumption arises that a preliminary settlement may have taken place at Levanto in 1536, which in 1538 was moved to the present site. In the *Nota de las Poblaciones de Españoles en el Perú*, 1571 or 1572, (Vol. I, *Relaciones geográficas*, p. 56,) Chachapoyas is credited with 150 Spanish inhabitants which probably includes all in the country. In the *Relacion de los Indios tributarios que hay al presente en estos Reinos y Provincias del Perú, fecha por mandado del señor Marqués de Cañete, la cual se hizo por Luis de Morales Figueroa, por el Libro de las Tasas de la Visita general*, etc., (in Volume VI of the *Coleccion de Documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, page 55) Levanto is put down as containing fifty-one tributary Indians. This was between 1590 and 1596.

* Cieza, *Primera Parte* (page 427).

* Guaman or Huaman means *hawk* (Torres Rubico, *Arte y Vocabulario*, fol. 85). For these names see *Primeros Descubrimientos* and also Herrera, *Historia* (Vol. II, Decada V, Libro VI, Chap. XI and XII). There is a discrepancy in the spelling to which I do not assign the importance attached to it by Jimenez de la Espada. The MSS. of Cieza also spells the same name in two different ways sometimes.

* The differences between local names given by Herrera, and those given by Cieza, are of more importance than those between personal names. Thus Herrera has (ut supra page 174) "Longiaymba," whereas the *Primeros Descubrimientos* (p. V) have "Longia *É* (italic my own) Xunbia." There is a hamlet called *Lonya* six miles west of the capital (Chachapoyas). It is not clear whether the "Lonya" of Cieza is what to-day is called "Lonya chico," or "Lonya grande" which latter lies much further away, near the Marañon, and can hardly have been the place whence a hostile tribe came to attack those of Levanto. *Quita* might be the Cheto of to-day, five miles east of Levanto. Chillao of Herrera (p. 176) is *Chillo* of Cieza.—In the *Proceso contra el Capitan Alonso de Alvarado &ca* (*Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, vol. VII, p. 56) from 1545, a "cacique" of *Chilla* is mentioned. There is a place called *Chillo*, in a handsome gorge of the Utcubamba river on the route from Balsas to Chachapoyas. Baguan may be Bagua, not far from the confluence of the Utcubamba with the Marañon. All these names would tend to indicate that Alvarado entered the region from northern Cajamarca. Raimondi, *Perú* (Volume I, page 78), attempts to trace the route which Alvarado followed to reach Chacha-

poyas. I add the possible identification of Chillo with the Chillo of to-day, although the observation of the distinguished naturalist, that Chillao was mentioned jointly with *Luya* in the eighteenth century, is not to be overlooked. The *Tonche* of Herrera and Cieza might be *Sonche*, in the vicinity of the capital. In the document already quoted: *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* ((pp. 55, &c.) there is, besides *Lebanto*, *Chilcho*, *Sonche*, *Bagua*, and a few more that resemble some in the authors mentioned, like: *Choscon* (*Cowcon* of Herrera), *Charmal* (*Charrasmal* of Herrera), and Chillao. Besides, *Cascayungas* and *Guancas* are mentioned. There is in the *Memoria de las Cosas primeras* (page XVI) an important statement by its author, the Indian Juan de Alvarado. He says: "desde Cuchabamba hasta Caxamarquilla; hay trece leguas caminó toda la noche y prendióle antes que amaneciese." Hence the distance from Cajamarquilla to Cochabamba must have been quite short. He also states that the Indians from Cajamarquilla as far as Lamebamba (*Leymebamba*) "obedecieron á este Cacique." Now, Cajamarquilla or "little Cajamarca" lies south of Chachapoyas and west of the upper course of the Marañon. Cuchabamba must, from these indications, have been a short distance north of Cajamarquilla. It is also significant that Alvarado in every one of his journeys to Chachapoyas started from the coast at Truxillo, hence his shortest route entered the Chachapoyas region from the *south*, not from the west.

¹⁹ The best evidence of contact between the Inca and the people of Chachapoyas in pre-Spanish times is the presence of Chachapoyas Indians near Cuzco, where they were settled already before 1533. Cieza, *Primera Parte* (page 427), writes of the Chachapoyas Indians near Cuzco as follows: "Y así, despues que tuviéron sobre sí el mando real del Inga, fuéron muchos al Cuzco por su mandado; á donde les dió tierras para labrar y lugares para casas no muy léjos de un collado que está pegado á la ciudad, llamado Carmenga. Y porque del todo no estaban pacíficas las provincias de la serranía confinantes á los Chachapoyas, los ingas mandaron con ellos y con algunos orejones del Cuzco hacer frontera y guarnicion, para tenerlo todo seguro."—In *Segunda Parte* he speaks of two attempts by the Inca to conquer Chachapoyas. First by Tupac Yupanqui (page 211): "Cuentan, sin esto, que entró por lo de Guánuco y que mando hacer el palacio tan primo que hoy vémos hecho; que yendo á los Chachapoyas, le diéron tanta guerra, que aina de todo punto los desbarataran, tales palabras les pudo decir, que ellos mismos se le ofrecieron." This would indicate a treaty of peace after indecisive fighting. His successor Huayna Capac, who died about 1526, made war upon the Chachapoyas again and was at first defeated (p. 244). "En los Chachapoyas halló *Guayna* Capac gran resistencia; tanto, que por dos veces volvió huyendo desbaratado á los fuertes que para su defensa se hacían; y con favores que le vinieron, se revolvió sobre los Chachapoyas y los quebrantó de tal manera, que pidieron páz, cesando por su parte la guerra. Dióse con condiciones provechosas al Inca, que mandó pasar muchos dellos á que residiesen

en el mesmo Cuzco, cuyos descendientes hoy viven en la mesma ciudad; tomó muchas mugeres, porque son hermosas y agraciadas y muy blancas; puso guarniciones ordinarias con soldados mitimaes para que estuviesen por frontera; dejó gobernador en lo principal de la comarca." Of that "gobernador" no trace is found in the documents about the conquest by Alvarado. In the *Memoria* (page XIII), a "cacique principal" is mentioned "natural de Cuchapanba," but that Indian does not appear to have had any connection with the Cuzco tribe than that of a compulsory or voluntary ally. Alvarado the Indian speaks of a "gobernador del Inca" at Cajamarquilla, at the time of the great uprising in 1536. With the same right the chiefs of the Pottowatomies, Chippewas, etc. might be called "viceroys" of Pontiac.—Garcilasso de la Vega, *Comentarios* (Vol. I, Lib. VIII, Chap. II and III, fol. 199 to 200) gives an account of the conquest of Chachapoyas by the Cuzco people led by Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. He overreaches the limits of credibility by claiming that the Inca reached *Moyobamba*, from *Llavantu* (Levanto), where he says they had established themselves. Of the buildings which he states the Incas erected in Chachapoyas there is no trace, unless the small building seen by me near Levanto is of Inca origin.

The notice of events at Chachapoyas previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, by Miguel Cabello Balboa in his *Miscelánea Austral*, hardly deserves quotation.

That Indians from Chachapoyas dwelt at or near Cuzco, at the time the Spaniards first entered the settlement, is well established. I refer to the above quotations from Cieza. But their number was not large. According to a letter written by the vice-roy Don Francisco de Toledo to the king, from Cuzco, September 24, 1572 (*Relaciones geográficas*, Volume II, page XI, note b), the number of Chachapoyas and (!) Cañares (the latter were from southern Ecuador) was then about five hundred. They were, although living at Cuzco, "grandes enemigos de la nacion de los Ingas." *Descripcion de la Ciudad de La Plata, Cuzco y Guamanga, y otros Pueblos Del Perú*. (Rel. Geográf., Vol. II, p. XI). The same document says: "En el Cuzco hay dos parcialidades de indios que llaman *Cañares* y *Chachapoyas*, que son traidos alli de los llanos de la provincia de *Quito*, los cuales se diéron á los cristianos en tiempo de la conquista y por ello son reservados de tributo."—In the *Informaciones acerca del Señorío y Gobierno de los Ingas*, 1570—1572, Madrid, 1882, together with the *Memorias Antiguas Historiales y Politicas del Perú* of Montesinos (p. 212), there is mentioned an Indian, "Don Martin Vilca, chachapoya, de mas de 80 años; que dijo que Guayna Capac lo trajo de los Chachapoyas á estos términos del Cuzco." In the *Informacion de las Idolatrias de los Incas é indios y de como se enterraban, &c.* (*Documentos inéditos de Indias*, Vol. XXI, page 137): "Otro yndio dijo llamarse Juanapicardo, natural que dijo ser de los Chachapoyas y que está en Savangai, términos del Cuzco, y que hera criado su padre de Guaynacapal, y tenia noventa años" (page 149), two more are named, one of whom was a "Cacique" (also page 164).—In the *Orde-*

nanzas que el señor Viso-Rey Don Francisco de Toledo hizo para el buen gobierno de estos Reynos del Perú y Repúblicas de el (*Relaciones de los Virreyes y Audiencias que han gobernado el Perú*, Lima, 1867, Título XXIII, page 93, Vol. I), the Chachapoyas and Cañares of Cuzco are mentioned as exempt from tribute to the king of Spain, because they had "servido en la guerra, en tiempo de la conquista, como de otros muchos que se les habían llegado, debajo de la dicha ocasion."

²⁰ *Informaciones acerca del Señorío y Gobierno de los Ingas* (page 207.) One of the witnesses is "don Diego Lucana, principal de los mitimaes Cañaris y Chachapoyas y Llaguas, que están en el repartimiento de los Lurinhuanas, en la Purificación de Huacho."—In 1590—1596 there were Chachapoyas Indians, together with Cañaris, as tributary Indians in the District of Truxillo: *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (page 44). Their number is given as thirty. It is noteworthy that, while in Truxillo the Chachapoyas paid tribute, they were exempt from it in Cuzco. The establishment of "Mitimaes" or "Mitimas" at Copacavana is attributed by Ramos, *Historia de Copacavana y de su milagrosa Imájen de la Virgen* (La Paz, 1860, Chap. 7, page 9), to Tupac Yupanqui, but with such a formidable list of tribal and local names appended that the exaggerations are manifest. (The book quoted is a quasi re-print of Ramos by Father Rafael Sans. Some of the first chapters of Ramos are lacking. The remainder was compared by the R.R.D. Bishop of La Paz, Fray Nicolas Armentia, with an original edition at Sucre and found to be correct with few exceptions. I do not hesitate therefore to quote the above as due to the pen of Ramos.

²¹ The exaggerations in numbers and misrepresentation of the nature of these so-called colonies are very great.

Mitma signifies "a comer from the outside," or one brought from the outside—Torres Rubio, *Arte y Vocabulario* (fol. 160); Tschudi, *Wörterbuch* (page 392). In Aymará, *Mithma* means a stranger or foreigner, one who is not a native of the place. Nothing in the original sense of the word implies a forcible transfer to the site where the *Mithma* is located, neither in Quichua nor in Aymará. See, in regard to Aymará: Bertonio, *Vocabulario* (fol. 213).

It is to Cieza that a much exaggerated account of the Mitimas or Mitma or Mitmac is due. *Segunda Parte* (Chap. XXII). He dedicates that chapter to a refutation of an anterior statement by Francisco Lopez de Gomara. *Historia general de las Indias* (in Vedia, *Histor. primitivos* &ca, Volume I, page 274). Gomara states that the Mitimas were slaves, whereas Cieza makes of them an institution framed by the Incas about the middle of the fifteenth century. This would imply a rather recent origin. Neither Gomara nor Cieza are fully in the right. There were few "slaves," if any, among the Peruvian Indians, as there was but little labor to perform by other than by members of the clan or household. As to Cieza, his admiration for the Inca led him into gross exaggerations. If the Mitimas were an "institution" founded by the Inca within less than a century previous to the advent of the

Spaniards, it is impossible that his picture of the magnitude of the "colonies" should be anything like true. Juan de Betanzos, author of the important work entitled *Suma y Narracion de los Incas que los indios llaman Capaccuna ñca*, unfortunately incomplete, was a contemporary of Cieza and had the superior advantage of being a resident of Cuzco and married to an Indian girl from the Inca tribe. He nowhere, in his prolix reports on the doings of Yupanqui (to whom Cieza attributes the idea of the Mitimas), mentions the establishment of such a "policy." But as stated, only part of the work of Betanzos is, either accessible or in existence. Zárate, *Historia* (Chap. XII, page 472): "En conquistando alguna provincia, la primera cosa que hacia era pasar todos los vasallos, ó los mas principales, á otra poblacion antigua, á poblar aquella tierra de los indios ya sujetos, y desta manera lo aseguraba todo. Y esta tal gente que remudaba de unas tierras en otras llamaban mitimaes." Zárate, who came to Peru thirteen years subsequent to the landing of Pizarro, already increases the exaggerations of Cieza. His statement is only a repetition of that contained in Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés: *Historia general y natural de Indias* (reprint by Don José Amador de los Rios, Madrid, 1855, Volume IV, Lib. XLVI, Chap. XVII, page 227), "é para tener seguras las provincias é pueblos que ponía debaxo de su dominio, hizo que las gentes é vecinos de una provincia fuessen á vivir á la otra, é por lexos que fuesse lo uno de lo otro, los trocaba." It will be observed that the establishment of Mitimas as a policy is here attributed to the Inca war-chief who died about 1526, or half a century later than Cieza puts it. Oviedo had his information from Spaniards who were in Peru in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. In twenty years or less such a measure could not have been enforced to the extent claimed.—From official documents from the second half of the sixteenth century it results that the Mitimas were not by far as numerous nor as widely distributed. The *Descripcion y Relacion de la Provincia de los Yauyos toda, Anan Yauyos y Lorin Yauyos, hecha por Diego Dávila Brizeño, corregidor de Guarocheri*, 1586 (*Rel. geográf.*, Vol. I, page 62), speaks of *Mitimaes Chocorbos*. The Chocorbos were simply neighbors of Yauyos who trespassed on the range of the latter, after both had been overrun by the Inca. The same is the case in the district or (Spanish) province of Jauja. *Descripcion que se hizo en la provincia de Xauxa ñca*, by Andrés de Vega, 1582 (*Ibidem*, page 93), where Indians from Yauyos had established themselves. *Descripcion fecha de la provincia de Vilcas Guaman*, by Don Pedro de Carbajal, 1586 (*Ibid.*, page 168). "Todos estos indios desta provincia son indios advenedizos y tras-puestos por el Inga del Cuzco." He excepts four villages. There are a number of other official reports of the same period on other provinces, only one of which mentions Mitimas. The *Descripcion y Relacion de la Ciudad de La Paz*, 1586 (*Rel. geográf.*, Vol. II, page 80), speaks of Copacavana, but without referring to Mitimas. In the *Relacion que enbió á mandar su magestad se hiziese desta ciudad de Cuenca y de toda su provincia*, by Antonio Bello Gayoso in 1582 (*Rel. geogr.*, Vol.

III, page 171), there is the following statement concerning the *Cañares* of southern Ecuador: "Y á esta causa se llamaron estos naturales de los términos de *Cuenca Cañares*, y así hablan la dicha lengua de los cañares entrellos y la conversan; pero todos saben y hablan la lengua del *Inga* general, y entre nosotros y otras gentes tratan y conversan con la dicha lengua; porque dicen quel *Inga* expresamente les mandaba que la hablasen, y para ello pobló por aquí gente del *Cuzco*, que agora llamamos *Mitimas*; que quiere decir, 'traspuestos de una provincia en otra,' y así tienen y están cerca deste pueblo un pueblo llamado Coxitambo, donde están los dichos mitimas; y quiere decir Coxitambo, 'asiento dichoso'; de los cuales depredieron la lengua general conque agora se tratan entre nosotros." There seems to have been an exchange, some of the Cañares removing to Cuzco, and Quichuas settling in southern Ecuador.—The *Relaciones geográficas* contain over thirty official descriptions of as many separate districts of Peru, from the years 1582 to 1586, and those above are the only ones mentioning Mitimas. The *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (1591, pages 43, 44, 55, 56 and 59), mentions, in all Peru, including Ecuador and Bolivia, twenty-one settlements of Mitimas: five in the district of Lima, six in that of Truxillo, six in Huamanga, one in Huánuco, two in Chachapoyas, and one in Ecuador among the Cañaris. The total number is given at 2,429 tributary Indians or a little over eight thousand souls. This is very far from the statement of Cieza, *Primera Parte de la Crónica* (Chap. XLI, page 393): "que luego que conquistaban una provincia destas grandes mandaban salir ó passar de allí diez ó doce mil hombres con sus mujeres, ó seis mil, ó la cantidad que querian." The gross exaggeration is plain. That remnants of tribes were removed, after an Inca foray, to a distant region is very likely. Such transfers also occurred in Mexico and among the North-American Indians.—Garcilasso de la Vega who, in some cases, is even more exuberant than Cieza, after giving a glowing picture of the "colonies" planted by the Inca, states about the "Mitimaes" (*Comentarios reales*, Vol. I, fol. 165): "Y esto he lo dicho porque en estos Collas, y en todos los mas valles del Perú, que por ser frios no eran tan fertiles y abundantes como los pueblos cálidos y bien prouidos: mandaron que pues la gran serrania de los Andes comarcaua con la mayor parte de los pueblos, que de cada vno saliesse cierta cantidad de Yndios con sus mugeres, y estos tales, puestos en las partes que sus Caciques les mandauan y señalaban, labrauan los campos, en donde sembrauan lo que faltaua en sus naturalezas, proueyendo con el fruto que cogian á sus señores ó capitanes, y eran llamados Mitimaes." On page 166 he says: "Trasplantauan los tambien por otro respeto y era, quando auian conquistado alguna prouincia belicosa, de quien se temia que por estar léxos del Cozco, y por ser de gente feroz y braua, no aula de ser tan leal . . . y muchas vezes la sacauan toda, y la passauan á otra prouincia de las domésticas. . . . Á todos estos Yndios trocados desta manera llamauan Mitmac, assi á los q lleuauan como á los que trayã, quiere dezir trasplantados, ó aduenedizos que todo es vno."—Settlements of Mitimas in the low-lands were few since

the Indian from the high plateaux does not easily resist a change of climate from cold to hot. The inverse also is detrimental to him, though not in the same degree. Settlement of foreign Indians on the range of other, even distant tribes, is always possible and various causes may lead to it. The Iroquois (with whose methods of conquest those of the Incas have much greater analogy than commonly supposed) allowed the Tuscaroras and the Mohekunnucks, and a part of the New England tribes (upon whom they had made bloody war) to settle within their hunting grounds and "their possessions were subsequently secured to each band by treaty." (Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pages 44 and 45.) The Eries, or rather a part of them, were incorporated with the Senecas (Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, 1871, page 152). It is noteworthy, that with the exception of the Inca warriors that had been compelled, through distance and inevitable long absence from Cuzco, to settle in Ecuador, there are very few traces of Inca settlements outside of the Cuzco range. In this also, the analogy with the Iroquois (and with the ancient Mexicans) is striking. Herrera, *Historia general* (Volume II, Decada V, page 83), considers the Mitimas as "soldiers" chosen from foreign tribes on account of greater fidelity. The bitter feeling that prevailed among the few hundreds of Cafiáres and Chachapoyas near Cuzco, against the Inca is hardly in favor of this view.

* The names indicate it already. Pumacocha means "Lake of the Puma," and Leymebamba is a corruption of *Raymi-Pampa*: plain or level of the dance called *Raymi*, said to have been the most important one celebrated every year. It is not improbable that Leymebamba was on the confines of Quichua-speaking tribes north of Huánuco, and it is well to note that its people are called Mitimas in 1591 (*Relacion de los Indios tributarios*, page 55).

* That Leymebamba was peopled when Alvarado came to Chachapoyas is plain from the *Memoria de las cosas primeras*, by Juan de Alvarado (*Rel. Geográf.*, Volume IV, page XV). From the manner in which he mentions the willingness of the people of that vicinity to listen to the messages of Mango Inca, to rise against the Spaniards, it seems probable that they were Quichua Indians. Nevertheless, Garcilasso assures us (*Comentarios*, Volume I, fol. 199): "De allí pasó ocho leguas conquistando todos los pueblos que halló, hasta vn pueblo de los principales que llamã Raymipampa que quiere dezir campo de la fiesta y pasqua principal del Sol, llamada Raymi, . . . y porque Tupac Inca Yupanqui, auiendo ganado aquel pueblo que está en vn hermosissimo valle, celebró en el campo aquella fiesta del Sol, le llamaron assi, quitãdole el nombre antiguo que tenia . . ." How far this statement, that Leymebamba had another name before the Inca visited it, is true, I cannot ascertain. Neither can I find anything reliable concerning Pumacocha. The *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (page 56) ascribes to "Pomacocha" 127 tributary Indians in 1591.

* Xalca, as "Laxalca," is contained in the list of tributary Indians from 1591 (page 56). Garcilasso, *Com. reales* (I, folio 199) speaks of

Suta as three leagues from Leymebamba. This would correspond to the *Suta* of to-day approximately. Jalca lies in the Puna a short distance above *Suta*. The two-storied circular buildings might be in reality composed of a massive base with an upper tier that was inhabited, as at Kuélap and Macro.

* Garcilasso, *Comentarios* (I, Lib. VIII, fol. 197), claims that in primitive times the Chachapoyas wore a sling around the head as distinctive headdress. More than one tribe from the Sierra wore slings as headbands.

* See *Decreto* of July 4, 1825, and the previous one of April 8, 1824. These dispositions were often changed, especially in Bolivia.

* Herrera, *Historia general* (Volume II, Década V, page 172), describes a dance which the Indians of Cochabamba performed on the arrival of Alvarado at their village. Cochabamba, as we have seen, did not pertain to the Chachapoyas region, but there is hardly any doubt that the Chachapoyas had similar customs. The dance is also mentioned in *Primeros Descubrimientos* (p. III) when it is stated the Indians were decorated with gold and silver ornaments. To-day the Quichua Indians of *Charassani* in northern Bolivia still wear, while dancing, ornaments of silver and gold, especially the women.

* About the religious ideas of the Chachapoyas we know almost nothing. Garcilasso, *Comentarios* (Vol. I, fol. 197): "Estos Chachapuyas adorauan culebras, y teniã al aue Cuntur por su principal Dios." On folio 199 he mentions the Indians of Huancabamba. Huancabamba lies in the Department of Cajamarca northwest of Chachapoyas, west of the Marañon. That the customs were the same is, while not unlikely, not proven as yet. "En su religion fueron tan bestiales ó mas que en su vida moral, adorauan muchos dioses, cada nacion, cada capitania, ó quadrilla, y cada, casa tenia el suyo. Vnos adorauan animales, otros aues, otros yeruas y plantas, otros cerros, fuentes, y rios, cada lo q se le autojaua: sobre lo qual tambien aula grandes batallas, y pendencias en comun y particular sobre qual de sus Dioses era el mejor." This holds good not alone for that particular region, but for the Peruvian Indians in general; the Inca not excepted, although Garcilasso would have us believe the latter stood on a much higher plane.

* *Comentarios reales* (I, fol. 213): "Del arbolillo que los Españoles llaman Tabaco, y los Yndios Sayri . . ." Father Bernabé Cobo, S.J., *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (completed 1653 and published for the first time in Sevilla in 1890, Volume I, Lib. IV, Chap. LVI, pages 402 to 405), distinguishes two kinds: "uno hortense, que es el que aquí hé pintado, y otro, salvaje, que nace en lugares incultos, el cual no crece tan alto ni produce tan grandes hojas, pero es de mas fuerte y eficaz virtud que el hortense."—I saw much wild tobacco in Amazonas. Cobo regards tobacco as highly medicinal, even the roots of the wild species, of which he says (p. 403): "A la raiz del tabaco silvestre llaman los indios del Perú, *Coro*, de la cual usan para muchas enfermedades." Of tobacco in general he asserts (p. 405): "En la lengua general del Perú se llama *Sayri*." He mentions a plant called *Topasayri*, the pow-

der of which is sternutative: "que son mas eficaces para esto que los del Tabaco. Y mucho mas fuertes que los unos y los otros son unos polvos blancos de cierta planta que venden en la plaza de México los indios herbolarios." The latter is evidently *Hellebore*, such as the *Callawaya* Indians from *Curva* in Bolivia to-day peddle and sell as a cure for headache.

Cobo also mentions the use of cornmeal by the medicine men, and of maize in general (Volume IV, page 140): "Para las enfermedades muy graves que con las medicinas y curas comunes no sanaban, hacian los hechiceros meter al enfermo en un aposento secreto, que primero preparaban desta manera: limpiábanlo muy bien, y para purificarlo, tomaban en las manos *Maiz* negro y traianlo refregando con el las paredes y suelo, soplando á todas partes miéntras este hacian, y luego quemaban el *Maiz* en el mismo aposento, y tomando luego *Maiz* blanco, hacian lo mismo, y despues asperjaban todo el aposento con agua vuelta con harina de *Maiz*, y de esta suerte los purificaban."

"On the Island of Titicaca my wife once hurt herself by striking against a rock in the ruins. The medicineman who was her steady companion and assistant in the excavations she conducted, insisted she should eat a piece of the rock, lest it hurt her again. When children are set on the ground before the age at which they are allowed to be taken into the fields, they are made to swallow some of the earth on which they are placed. The Aymará Shamans call the spirit they invoke at night in the fields, "son of a guinea-pig."

"The *Hacha-Tata* or great Shamans of the Aymará in Bolivia, at this day keep owls for purposes of witchcraft. Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Vol. IV, page 149): "Cuando oian cantar Lechuzas, Buhos ó otras aves extrañas, ó aullar Perros, lo tenian por mal agüero y presagio de su muerte ó de la de sus hijos ó vecinos, y particularmente de la de aquel en cuya casa ó lugar cantaban ó aullaban; y solian ofrecerles *Coca* y otras cosas, pidiéndoles que dañasen y matasen á sus enemigos y no á ellos."

"This belief to-day obtains in the Chincha valley, south of Lima. The turkey-buzzard, on the coast, approaches dwellings with the greatest unconcern.

"*Eslabon* means, in old Spanish, a piece of iron used to strike fire with, and the shape of the trousers may have given rise to the name. For definition compare: *Primera Parte del Tesoro de la Lengua castellana, ó española*, by Sebastian de Covarruvias Orozco (Madrid, 1674, fol. 261). It was originally written (at least sometimes) *Eslavon*.

"*Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (ut supra). The population of *Moyobamba* is given at 678 men, or about 2300 in all (p. 57).

"*Ut Supra*.

"*Relacion* (p. 56).

"*Camdjian* lies near *Molino-Pampa*, about ten miles north of east of Chachapoyas. The ruins were stated to be without protective walls. The word is unintelligible to me, neither could any of my informants explain it in Quichua.

³⁸ *Yauhcan* is said to be near *Longuita* on the west side of the *Utcubamba* stream, about four miles west of *Kuélap* in a direct line. All my distances are given after the *Atlas del Perú*, by A. Raimondi, fol. 7 and 12, and indicate *air lines*. By trail, owing to the broken nature of the surface, they are very much greater. The ruins of *Yauhcan* are said to be buried in tall timber. I find no etymology to the word in *Quichua* nor in *Aymará*; still it might also be *Llaucan*.

³⁹ *Torres Rubio, Arte deca.* (fol. 159) has: "el alto ó sobrado de una casa."—An upper story or loft. *Tschudi, Wörterbuch* (page 374), defines the word as "village." In *Aymará*, *Marca* is village, "pueblo." *Bertonio, Vocabulario* (I, fol. 387; II, 217).

⁴⁰ *Raimondi, El Perú* (Volume II, page 528), gives for the ruins of *Malca*, according to *Werthemann*, 2938 meters or 9637 feet. On the *Atlas* (fol. 12) he has 3072 meters. *Tingo*, *Werthemann* places at 174 meters or 5714 feet, hence the difference between the ruins and the *Utcubamba* is 4362 feet. I cannot ascertain the degree of reliability of these figures, not being able to find out what instruments were used.

⁴¹ In the pamphlet entitled *Bienes de la Beneficencia de la Capital del Departamento de Amazonas* (Lima, 1876, pages 72 and 76), I find recorded the following two documents:

Between the years 1740 and 1744.—*Venta á censo por pagar cada tercio 40 pesos por la hacienda de Cuélap á Juan José Franco, por lo Reverendos Padres de la Merced.*

Between 1826 and 1830.—*Cesion. Juan Manuel y Juan José Oyarte, de la hacienda de Cuélap á la Merced.*

⁴² *Relacion de los Indios tributarios* (pages 55 and 56).

⁴³ (*Ibidem*)—In the second part of the *Libro de Cabildos de Lima* (Volume II), this document is published under the strange title of *Relacion de las Encomiendas existentes en el Perú cuando practicó la visita é hizo el reparto general el Virrey D: Francisco de Toledo* (pages 137 to 151). The editor asserts it to be the document contained in Volume I (should be VI) of the *Documentos inéditos*, and in Volume II of the *Memorias de los Virreyes y Audiencias que han gobernado el Perú* (Madrid, 1871, pages 311, etc.). I cannot explain the important difference in the title. The *Note* in the latter two volumes says that the copy is from a MS. in Volume IV of the MSS. of the *Marqués del Río* and that the volume also contains the "visita" by *Toledo*.—It is either an impardonable error of *Muñoz*, from whose pen the above note comes, or else the editor of the *Libro de Cabildos* has committed an impardonable blunder. The reputation of *Juan Bautista Muñoz* for his carefulness and exceptional familiarity with the archives of his country, makes it highly improbable that he should have confounded the census of 1591 with the one by *Toledo* sixteen years previous, and this throws a grave doubt also on any of the changes which the editor of the *Libro de Cabildos* has made as "corrections" of the two publications. Thus in place of "Conilap" he puts "Canilap" (p. 149). *Luy* lies farther north of *Kuélap* than *Chachapoyas*.

- " It was said to be contained in a document at Truxillo.
- " I afterwards saw several of them.
- " Like the "summer-pueblos" of the New Mexican Indians.
- " Torres Rubio, *Arte* (fol. 100). In Aymará, *Suntur Uta* is given by Bertotto (*Vocabulario*, II, p. 328): "Casa que tiene el teché cuadrado sin moxineté."
- " Compare E. G. Squier, *Peru* (1877, p. 302 et seq.).
- " This is manifestly an invention.
- " All the corpses found in burials supposed to be ancient are called "Mummies" in Peru.
- " E. B. Tyler, *Early History of Mankind* (1878, Chapter XI).
- " Garcilasso de la Vega, *Comentarios* (Vol. I, fol. 199). *Primeros Descubrimientos y Conquistas de los Chachapuyas* (pages V. VI, XII). Also Juan de Alvarado, *Memoria de las Cosas primeras* (p. XV, &c.).
- " Chiringote is south of Kuélap and near Leymebamba, Quillay about midways between the two places. Conilo north, and west of Chachapoyas. Such a scattering is of course possible, but there is no evidence of it.
- " I cannot find anything that would recall Kuélap, neither in the document of Alvarado, nor in Cieza, nor in Herrera.
- " This word I cannot find either in Quichua or in Aymará.
- " *Batán* is the common word in Peru and western South America in general, for the handmill or substitute of the Mexican *Metate*.
- " *Chhahuar*, according to Torres Rubio, *Arte y Vocabulario* (fol. 79), means some kind of fibre, also hemp of flax.—Tschudi, *Wörterbuch* (p. 234): "eine Art Bast, aus dem die Indianer ihre Stricke machen." Hence fibre of almost any kind.
- " Santo Tomas de Quillay lies, according to Raimondi, *Mapa del Perú* (fol. 12), 2691 meters (9482 feet) above sea level. The name may be from *Quilla*, "moon", in Quichua. In Aymará, *Quillay* is the name of a plant used extensively for cleaning and called in Perú *Tarsana*. Raimondi, *Elementos de Botánica* (Lima, 1857), says it is *Quillaja smegmadermos*.
- " "Pomacocha" is mentioned in the *Relacion* of 1591 (p. 56) with 127 tributary Indians or about 450 souls.
- " At the village of *Jalca*, above *Suta*.
- " Raimondi, *Mapa* (fol. 12), places *Tambo Viejo* 1913 meters or 6274 feet above Balsas on the Marañon.
- " There was then a plan to change the course of that road or trail to *Gollón*, but I opposed it strongly.
- " 948 meters, *Mapa del Perú* (fol. 12).
- " Borja, at the mouth of the Pongo, lies in Lat. 4° 28' 30" South, and Long. 77° 50' 40" West, according to Werthemann. Raimondi, *Perú* (Vol. II, 415).
- " Fernando de la Carrera, *Arte de la Lengua Yunga de los valles del Obispado de Trujillo &c.*, 1644 (reprint Lima, 1880, p. 9), mentions "la doctrina de los Balsas del Marañon" as a "Yunca" or Yunga colony from times not much anterior to the arrival of Pizarro.

NEW YORK'S FIRST DIRECTORY.

By CHARLES GEORGE HERBERMANN, PH.D., LL.D., LIT.D.

FRANKS, David

The New York Directory containing, A Valuable and well Calculated Almanac; Tables of the different Coins, suitable for any State, and digested in such order, as to render an Exchange between any of the United States plain and easy.

Likewise,

1. The names of all the Citizens, their occupations and places of abode.
2. The members in Congress, from what State, and where residing.
3. Grand departments of the United States for adjusting public accounts, and by whom conducted.
4. Members in Senate and Assembly, from what county and where residing.
5. Judges, Aldermen, and other civil officers, with their places of abode.
6. Public state-officers, and by whom kept.
7. Counsellors at law and where residing.
8. Ministers of the gospel, where residing and of what Church.
9. Physicians, Surgeons, and their places of abode.
10. President, Directors, days, and hours of business at the Bank.
11. Professors, etc., of the university of Columbia College.
12. Rates of postage, as by law established.
13. Arrivals and departures of the mails at the Post-Office.

Printed by Shepard Kollock, corner of Wall and Water Streets,
1786.

In 1874 Mr. F. B. Patterson, of 61 Liberty street, published a reprint of New York's first directory, which appeared in 1786, the compiler being David Franks, a conveyancer, of 66 Broadway. It is this reprint we wish to introduce to our readers, and request them through its pages to make the acquaintance of our metropolis as it was one hundred and twenty-one years ago. Not to be led astray by our guide, we must call to mind a few circumstances that will naturally affect our reading of the story revealed by Mr. Franks.

When he introduced into the world the eldest of the now numerous family of New York directories, the city could hardly be said to be in its normal condition. It had greatly suffered from a devastating fire just ten years before, 1776. The traces of this destruction wrought by the flames would no doubt have disappeared by 1786 under ordinary conditions, but 1776 was the beginning of the War of Independence, which sadly interfered with the growth and prosperity of the young city on the island of Manhattan. At the beginning of the war, the loyalists found it an uncomfortable home, while after Washington's defeat at the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776) and his subsequent retreat, the patriots emigrated in large numbers, while the sympathizers of England returned and became for the time the controllers of the municipality. But their stay was not of long duration. After the conclusion of peace at Paris, September 31, 1783, England surrendered New York, which was evacuated on November 25, 1783. With the English troops departed many of England's loyal friends, while the patriots returned and again took possession of their property. There was much bitterness engendered during the long war against England, and the majority of the patriots were not at the time in a mood to forget and forgive. The Legislature enacted more than one law sequestering the property of the loyalists, and as a result of the war and the confiscation there was much derangement in business circles. A large proportion of the city's business passed into new hands, and naturally there existed for some years a feeling of instability, which no doubt retarded the growth of the population, keeping back new settlers

and leading old settlers to emigrate. No census was taken at this time, and it is not clear what is the basis of Mrs. Martha Lamb's information; but she tells us that between 1783 and 1787 the city at no time counted more than 24,000 inhabitants. The first census of the United States in 1790 reports a population of 33,000.

If now we turn to the title page of our book, in order to inquire what information we may gather there, our expectation at first naturally rises to a considerable height. The little book, which contains only seventy-eight pages, small octavo and which alongside of the 2,016 pages of Trow's last year's Directory is a mere dwarf, promises us the names "of all the Citizens, their occupations, and places of abode." Now all these things are spread before us on thirty-two pages, each giving twenty-four names, the sum total being 768. If we assume these 768 persons to be heads of families and allot to each family five or even six members, the total population would not exceed 3,840 to 4,608; this is a long distance from Mrs. Lamb's 24,000 and falls entirely beneath even our most modest expectations.

A closer investigation of Mr. Frank's book shows us that if our directory be the first-born infant of the art of making directories, the child inherits all the weaknesses and failings infants are entitled to be credited with. The alphabetic order is observed so imperfectly as to produce a bewildering effect. The spelling, as we shall see later, shows that the compiler was a rival of Napoleon and George Washington in the art of misspelling. Furthermore, when we compare the names of the resident lawyers and bankers given in appendices with the alphabetic lists, our search for the legal names will be in vain. Now if we look at the list of lawyers, attorneys, and notary publics we will find that they will sum up to forty-two, that is to say one lawyer to ninety-six or one hundred and fifteen inhabitants, or one lawyer to about twenty citizens in the alphabetic list. It is hard to say whom we should commiserate more—the lawyers or the inhabitants, if these figures are correct. But a closer scrutiny of the list seems to leave little doubt that

the directory is a business directory rather than an enumeration of all the heads of families, such as Trow's directory brings. We find no names of clerks, laborers, book-keepers, coachmen or other male servants, and yet we can not conceive a village of five thousand inhabitants without a complement of such business and domestic employees. In view of these facts it is safe to define the first New York directory as substantially a business directory.

Having satisfied ourselves on this point, let us study the little document step by step. It begins, as the title page informs us, with a calendar. This almanac should not be skipped, for it offers not a little curious information. The great number of days marked as anniversaries of battles and skirmishes during the War of Independence warn us that that war was still not only a living memory but a recent event. Washington's birthday is set down as a day to be remembered. It suggests that long before his death, and even before he had filled the presidential chair, "the father of his country" had become a national hero, and that he must have been looked upon as the leading figure of the struggle which had given liberty to the colonies.

We can not help noticing the strange fact that Washington's birthday is set down for March 11th. No doubt this is an error for February 11th. But why should Washington's birthday be set down for the 11th of February, when every school-book tells us that he was born on the 22d of that month? The reason is simple enough. In 1732, when Washington was born, his birthday was still counted as February 11th, for as is well known, Protestant England declined to accept Pope Gregory's reform of the calendar until twenty years later, in 1752. Honest David Franks forgot to reduce the old date to make it agree with the new reckoning, showing how difficult it was for our ancestors to accommodate themselves to the new style.

The calendar exhibits a number of ecclesiastical feast-days. We note the Circumcision, the Epiphany, Purification of the Virgin Mary, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Rogation Sunday, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Trinity Sunday,

Lammas Day (August 1st, the festival of St. Peter's chains), St. John the Baptist (August 29th), St. Michael, All Saints, Christmas and Holy Innocent's Day. To these we must add the feast of the twelve apostles, including St. Matthias, and that of St. Barnabas. I take it that these are the festival days of the Episcopal Church. Whether Lammas Day here is meant to commemorate St. Peter's chains or the old feast on which the first fruits of the new harvest were offered at Mass in Catholic England (*Hlaf-Masse*: *Loaf-Mass*) I can not decide. This feast falls on August 12th in the reform calendar, and is the second illustration of the persistence of the old calendar. I have no means of ascertaining whether Mr. David Franks was an Episcopalian. It is certainly remarkable, considering the small number of Episcopalians among the inhabitants, and the fact of the close connection between the Episcopal Church and the Church of England, that the calendar should record these festivals of the Anglican Church, the more so as it omits St. George's Day. The omission of St. George is quite significant, when we remark that St. Patrick, St. David, and St. Andrew are duly recorded. St. Nicholas or Santa Claus, the patron saint of the Hollanders, is passed over in silence. The insertion of St. Patrick on March 17th points to the fact that the Irish element must already have been a factor of some importance in New York's population. It may not be amiss to draw attention to the fact that in 1850 the observance of Christmas Day in New York was by no means general. Business was not suspended on that day, nor for some years after when Christmas Day was made a legal holiday by the Legislature of the State. We are struck by one more peculiarity. The festival of St. John Baptist occurs on August 29th instead of on June 24th. The discrepancy, however, is easily explained; whereas the memory of other saints is commemorated on the day of their death, St. John, since hoary antiquity, has had the distinction, with Our Lord and the Madonna, of having festivals assigned to his birth and to his decapitation. June 24th is his birthday, because of a passage in St. Luke suggesting that the Baptist was born six months before the Saviour, and perhaps also for

symbolical reasons. The decapitation was commemorated on August 29th, both in the East and in the West. Mr. Frank's calendar has therefore omitted the feast of St. John's nativity.

The calendar, as the title page announces, is followed by a table of dollars, that is to say of the coins of the different States with their sub-divisions. We are reminded at once that our book is older than the government of the United States which has possessed the exclusive right of coinage since its establishment. In New York and North Carolina, we learn the dollar had eight shillings; in the New England States and Virginia it had six shillings; in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware it had 7s. 6d.; in South Carolina and Georgia it had 4s. 8d. It follows that in New York and North Carolina a shilling had a value of about half an English shilling, while in South Carolina and Georgia its value was equal to that of the English coin. The New York shilling was the equivalent of the Spanish *real*, eight of which made a Spanish dollar or *peso*, as coin in South America. It is interesting to note this connection between our coins and the South American system. Though the Congress of the United States did away with the shilling and its parts, substituting the decimal system, the old money system lived on for many years after the United States issued its coin. Indeed until the Civil War, New Yorkers rarely spoke of quarters or 25 cents, prices being mostly given in shillings and pence. The war gave the death-blow to this curious method of computing, as there was really no silver coin named shilling in existence since the beginning of the Republic.

We now come to the Directory proper. We need not repeat the general description given of it above. We shall proceed at once to an analysis of the names there found. For our reader's convenience, we have inserted a map of New York of the date 1789, three years more recent than our volume. The street names remain the same as those found in the Directory. No doubt the gradual settlement of affairs to a peace footing and especially the selection of New York as the meeting place of the Colonial Congress had in the meantime given a great impulse to the growth of the city. This is indicated by the expansion

of the population from 24,000 as a maximum according to Mrs. Lamb to 33,000 in the first census of the United States. No doubt it had also considerably enlarged the network of the city streets, especially to the west of Broadway. Still, a careful survey of the streets mentioned in the Directory indicates also that the city did not extend beyond the northern line of the present City Hall Park, if indeed so far. In the map of 1789 which accompanies this paper that boundary has been passed, but many of the streets north of the City Hall existed merely on paper. The northernmost street we have noticed in the Directory is Chatham street, but as the numbering in New York was not successive it is not possible to know what part of Chatham street is meant. As it occurs very rarely, we may assume with some degree of safety that the lowermost part of Chatham street is referred to. It is certain that in 1767 the city did not go much beyond the southern point of City Hall Park, though the Ratzer map which bears that date has streets laid out far to the north of that point. On the other hand it is equally sure that the east side has always grown faster than the west. The network of streets on the east side south of Frankfort street seems to have been the same as to-day, although the names of many of the streets have been changed. It speaks volumes for the conservative character of our forefathers that, notwithstanding the bitter feeling against England and the English engendered by the War of Independence, yet, as our map shows six years after the close of the war the names of the English royal family, the names were still attached to the streets named in their honor. Thus we find King George street (North William), Charles street (Pike), Queen street (part of Pearl), Little Queen street (Cedar), Crown street (Liberty), Prince street (Rose), Princess street (part of Beaver), George street (part of Spruce), Duke street (part of Stone), still figuring on the map of 1789 though they have since disappeared from New York's topography. That the change was due to Republican sentiment is shown by the fact that Pitt street and Chatham Square still bear the name of America's stout friend, the great Earl of Chatham.

American cities being the product of immigration must almost from the beginning have betrayed evidences of this origin. New York, especially, was far from homogeneous. Originally a Dutch colony, in 1786 it had been for about a century an English possession. Its citizens were a mixture of old Knickerbockers and more recent English settlers to which we must add a sprinkling of French families, partly of Huguenot origin, partly Acadians, stranded here. Mingled with these elements we find Scotch and Irish settlers, not remarkable for their number, and a sprinkling of Germans and Spaniards.

Of the long columns of O's and Mac's which arrest the student of the modern directory there is hardly a premonition. We have noted the following Irish names scattered throughout our volume. Wm. Byrn, Esq, — Byrne (merchant), G. Burke (grocer), James Ceary (Cary?) (lodging-house), Johnson Costigin (tavern-keeper), — Connelly (tavern-keeper), Mrs. Daly (shop-keeper), Tim Donovan (tobacconist), John Dalton (surgeon), Michael Fallum (grocer), — Carthy (merchant), John Gillelan (grocer), Jas. and Thos. Gillespie (merchants), M. Kelly (inn-keeper), D. Leary (tailor), Wm. Leary (grocer), Dominick Lynch (merchant), Arthur Laughern (merchant), Joseph Leary (chocolate maker), H. Mulligan (merchant), William Mahon (merchant), Murro and McGrath (merchants), Robert Macgill (bookseller), William Mooney (upholsterer), Mary Murphy (tavern-keeper), B. Mooney (hatter), — M'Guier (tailor), — M'Quin (habit-maker), M. Rogers (merchant), Leon Rogers (breeches-maker), Rogers and Lyde (merchants), Michael Roberts (goldsmith), Robert Reiley (shoe-maker), George Shea (merchant), John Keefe (lawyer), James M. Huges (lawyer), John Kelly (conveyancer, land and money broker), Dan McCormick (grand treasurer of Masons), Peter Hughes (bank accountant), Michael Boyle (bank runner), William Magee Seton (discount clerk), J. Stewart, Hugh Walsh (secretary of the General Society of Mechanics and Trademen).

Alongside of this list culled from the Directory, we set down the following list, taken from Archbishop Bayley's sketch

of the History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York, pages 48-49, of trustees and benefactors of St. Peter's Church in Barclay street, which was organized in that year, 1768: Dominick Lynch, James Stewart, Henry Duffin, Andrew Morris, Gibbon Burke, Charles Naylor, William Bryson, William Mooney, George Barnwell and John Sullivan, of which ten names only four appear in the Directory. If it should be asked why the other six are missing, we can give no satisfactory answer. We may only suggest that perhaps some were omitted because they had no business, or house of their own and others because, while members of St. Peter's, they lived on Long Island or elsewhere outside of the city of New York. We read in Archbishop Bayley's History that Father Farmer in a letter to Bishop Carroll states the number of Catholics in New York under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Whelan in 1786 at two hundred, of whom twenty were communicants, three being Germans. This report, no doubt, is substantially correct, and leaves little doubt that a number of Irishmen at that time residing in New York do not appear in the Directory. Still these omitted names can not be very numerous. These two hundred included both men and women, and, probably, some grown up children, so that the entire number of Catholic heads of families of all nationalities would hardly exceed seventy-five. There are thirty-six Irish names in the list printed above. It is likely enough that a large proportion of them are the names of Protestants; but on the other hand we know that Father Whelan's congregation contained a number of French, Portuguese, Spaniards, and Germans, so that the number of Irish names omitted is probably below fifty. Strange to say, with the exception of Capt. O'Bryans, there is not a single name with the prefix O either in the Directory list or in Father Farmer's list. The Macs are few, but at all events, though Carthy has cast off his Mac, we have still a McGrath, McGuire, McQuin and McCormick. The latter, Mrs. Lamb tells us, was quite a figure in New York society, and from the Directory we learn that he was the Grand Treasurer of the Freemasons. How astonished would be these



REV. GABRIEL RICHARD

PASTOR OF ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, DETROIT.

1799-1832

Macs if they were shown a copy of Trow's Directory for 1907! They would be amazed by their own fecundity.

To find the Germans resident in New York in 1786 is no easy task. They are the proverbial needle in the haystack. I suspect that some of them changed their names or had them changed for them by Mr. Franks. The subjoined list no doubt contains some names whose bearers were not German. For it is no easy matter to distinguish some German from Dutch names. Some of the names are so mutilated that our classification must be decidedly doubtful. John Bickers (carpenter), John Burger (goldsmith), J. James Beckman (merchant), Theophilus Beckman (merchant), John Bauffell (grocer), S. Bauman (grocer), G. Coon (grocer), Catherine Eickert (gentlewoman), Leonard Fischer (surgical barber), John Goodberlat (tailor), John Gesner (grocer), G. Rosen (ale and porter house), Daniel Rytter (tailor), Mrs. Rylander (shop-keeper), John Ritter (tailor), Richard Roseumen (tinman), Michael Ritter (goldsmith), J. Resler (tallow chandler), Henry Sperring (shoemaker), G. Stestrich (baker), John Shattel (shoemaker), James Saidler (merchant), Henry Shrupp (tavern-keeper), Henry Spingler (grocer), Gabriel Tierman (tavern-keeper), John Thurman, Esq., Richard Wenman (upholsterer), Samuel Zeller (baker), Rev. John D. Gross, Professor of German and Geography at Columbia College, Rev. Dr. Kuntze, Professor of Hebrew at Columbia College, Otto de Perizang (silversmith), Henry Becker, John Clits, Charles Ortzen (peruke-maker). These thirty-four precursors of the present great German population which makes New York the third German city in the world, seems to forebode the role played by their modern successors. They show a respectable number of grocers, but the majority of them are skilled tradesmen, carpenters, upholsterers, goldsmiths, etc. Of their religious convictions we find no indication except in the case of two language professors in Columbia College who were probably Episcopalians. As we have seen, Father Farmer found three German Catholics who were regular communicants.

The Directory exhibits twenty-one French names. Here

they are: David Cauton (windsor-c. m.), John Colinac (merchant), James Desbrosses, Fat and La Forgue (furriers), John Grandine (shoemaker), Mrs. Milliner Gourlay, Catherine Labec (shop-keeper), Lecock and Intle, James Montantdevert (merchant), James Muisson (apothecary), Andrew Mercein (baker), Doctor Miler, — Dumont (merchant), John Ramage (miniature painter), John Vacher (doctor), Anthony Latour, Marey Lorrent (peruke-maker).

Except the Desbrosses we meet with none of the well-known Huguenot names that were prominent in old New York, some of which at least are still familiar to us from the names of Bayard, Delancey and Leroy streets. The occupation of these old French denizens contrasts strangely with the employment of their German fellow citizens. We meet with several doctors and one apothecary, a miniature painter and a wig-maker, all professions that harmonize with the nationality. We know that the French troops that came to help our revolutionary forefathers did not all return to *la belle France*. Perhaps the doctors and apothecaries were old army men who settled in New York. Fat and La Forgue, the furriers, point to Canadian origin. We miss the name of the French Consul of the time, Monsieur Creveœur, who wrote a book on his American experiences and had a share in starting St. Peter's congregation, Barclay street.

Outside of the name of Jose Ruiz Sylva, of whom we know from other sources that he was a Portuguese merchant and had as his chaplain the Capuchin, Father Whelan, formerly a French army chaplain, we find no representatives of the Spanish peninsula, though it is a well established fact that the Spanish minister, Don Diego Gardoqui, resided in New York about this time and took a lively interest in the organization of St. Peter's. Mr. Stoughton, for many years a trustee of St. Peter's Church and Spanish Consul, is found as a partner in the firm of Lynch and Stoughton. Of what nationality he was I have never seen stated, though of course his name has a true English ring.

We must not neglect to look up the old Jewish families of

Macs if they were shown a copy of Trow's Directory for 1907! They would be amazed by their own fecundity.

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We must not neglect to look up the old Jewish families of

New York. Here they are, fourteen in all: Solomon Cowen, Isaac Fredenburgh (shoemaker), Moses Gomez, Benjamin Jacobs (merchant), S. Benjamin Judah (merchant), Rayman Levy (merchant), Jacob Mordecai (vendue and commission store), Isaac Moses (auctioneer), Philip and Jacob Mark (merchants), Simon Nathan (merchant), Isaac Joshua (merchant), A. Isaac (tailor), Myer Myers (goldsmith), and Carmen Hendricks.

It is an interesting thing to note that almost every Hebrew found in the Directory is a merchant, two being auctioneers and one a jeweler. When we bear in mind the powerful instinct which leads the Israelite to carry on his own business rather than work for another, and his general indisposition to hard manual work, we are inclined to infer that there were but few Jewish families outside of those here enumerated. Still we are surprised to miss the names of such old Portuguese Jew families as Mendez Cardozo, and the Henriques, the more so as we find their fellow countrymen, Gomez, Nathan, Hendricks, and Rayman Levy.

The bulk of the names contained in the Directory are Dutch and English with a sprinkling of Scotch Macs. The Dutch and English names are about equally numerous. Certainly there is a goodly array of Knickerbocker names when we note there are seven Kips to only nine Smiths. Some of the latter being, perhaps, rightfully Smids or Schmitts or Schmidt or Schmids. We must admit that the old Dutch stock valiantly held its own. Of the Van type we find fifteen names, including Vanderbilt, Van Cortland and Vandam, but without Van Renselaer. The Schermerhorns are represented by Samuel and the Goelets by Peter and two Johns, but the Stuyvesants are conspicuous by their absence. There are Jones' and one Robinson and she a widow. The oddest names are Goforth and Han-shew and the firm of Snow and Hay.

Passing to the professions and occupations of these old New Yorkers, the number of physicians points to the fact that the rising city was by no means a model of hygienic conditions. In fact we know from other sources that the old town had a

very unsatisfactory water supply. Notwithstanding the brackish nature of the water furnished by the wells, no effort to bring in a more healthful drink was made until the nineteenth century, and epidemics and plagues were by no means rare. This accounts for the number of doctors, twenty-seven, or one doctor to every thirty families in the Directory. Or taking the proportion at twenty-four thousand, one physician for not quite nine hundred persons. A large number for those times and circumstances.

Mr. Leonard Fisher, surgical barber, reminds us that in 1786 surgery had hardly risen to the dignity of a science, though we read sometimes that Dr. McKnight was a famous surgeon. He did not teach surgery, however, at Columbia, but anatomy.

We have already adverted to the large number of lawyers that practised in New York at this time and its explanation. Among these jurists the most prominent were Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr, neither of whom disdained to practise criminal law. But there were other men of the law who, though not so famous as Hamilton and Burr, were, nevertheless, highly respected members of the bar. Among these we may mention: Robert and Brockholst Livingston, Richard Varick, John Rutherford, Peter Depeyster, Dan Verplanck, R. Morris, Edward Livingston and Erward Pell. Robert Livingston was Chancellor of the State, John Jay, Master in Chancery. The Judges of the Supreme Court were: The Hon. R. Morris, Esq., The Hon. Robert Yates, Esq., The Hon. John Sloss Hobart, Esq., Egbert Benson, Esq., John M'Kesson, Esq.

We must now turn to the schoolmasters and mistresses as they were called in plain English in those days. We find thirteen of these pivots of civilization. As follows: A. Cock, schoolmistress, M. P. Coffee, teacher of languages, Nathan Douglas, Alex. Farfor, — Grimes, E. Hogg, Mrs. Hanshew, tutoress, John Mennye, — Picken, dancing-master, Mrs. Seaton, boarding-school, Jane Smith, — Ulick, dancing-master, Ben. Wellfe, besides the two Columbia College professors of German and Hebrew, Drs. Gross and Kuntze.

The Mrs. Seaton who kept the boarding-school in New York was not the Ven. Mother Seton who founded the Sisters of Charity, as she was only twelve years old in 1786. The latter is interesting, however, as the enterprising predecessor of the many fashionable young ladies schools that have flourished in New York and still flourish to this day.

We have four language professors, one for German, one for French, one for Hebrew, while neither the name nor the title of Mr. Coffee enlightens us as to his country or the language he taught. Probably he taught French. So much is certain, that as late as the thirties or early forties of the nineteenth century it was a difficult thing to find a French master or mistress. I have heard of New England ladies who were sent to Detroit convents to learn French, and I am convinced that the same purpose brought many Protestant young ladies to our Catholic convent schools.

The New Yorkers must have been a gay community in 1786, since they had as many dancing-masters as modern language teachers, and no doubt dancing was looked upon as an accomplishment no less essential than French for young society bloods. The war must have dealt cruelly with musicians, of whom we do not discover a trace. But in those days music was banished from all but the Episcopal churches as a diabolical device to lead mankind into trouble. Catholics were struggling for existence without orchestral accompaniment, and perhaps the English army had carried off the last trumpeter. It is remarkable that when opera was finally introduced into New York just forty years later its patron was the second Dominick Lynch. If we inquire after the source of the dance music we are reminded that in those happy days every dancing-master was a fiddler, many of whom, as I have convinced myself by ocular inspection, carried their fiddles in their walking sticks. If from the fifteen pedagogues we subtract the language masters and the dancing-masters we have six school-masters and four schoolmistresses to teach the entire youth of Manhattan. To-day we have as many thousand.

The school naturally suggests the bookseller. We find four of them, all in the neighborhood of Hanover Square. They were Sam. Campbell, Hugh Gaine, Shepard Kollock, and Robert Macgill. None of these names were connected with the book trade even in the middle of the last century. Probably the thirst for learning at this time was not violent. There was no lack of thirst, however, as we may infer from the number of innkeepers, tavern-keepers, and boarding-houses. Of these we come upon twenty-three tavern-keepers, eight innkeepers and eight boarding-houses, a total of thirty-nine. Their names belong to men of all nations, and from the cosmopolitan character of the hosts we may draw a conclusion as to the nationality of the guests.

It only remains to say a word about the religious aspect of the town. Mr. Franks, while he duly registers the only bank of the city, and introduces us to lawyers, the peruke-makers, and the Freemasons, hardly mentions the word Church in his volume. That there were churches on Manhattan Island we know, not only from the generally pious character of the Knickerbockers, and the fact that only some twenty years before a man was hanged for being a Jacobite priest, but also from the generally enterprising character of the town. The following clergymen appear in the Directory: Abraham Bache (Episcopalian Minister), John Gano (Baptist Minister), J. Livingston (Dutch Church), John Mason (Minister of the Seceder Church), José Phelan (Clergyman of the Church of Rome), Dr. John Rogers (Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation) besides the Revs. Gross, Benj. Moore, Lewis Tettard and Kuntze, whom we meet with as professors at Columbia College. Of the Protestant clergy, if we may trust Mrs. Lamb, Dr. Rogers was the most prominent. The Catholic priest set down in the Directory as Rev. José Phelan, 1 Beekman street, was the Rev. Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin Father who had been a chaplain in the French army and was now a chaplain to the Portuguese merchant José Ruiz Sylva whose residence was at No. 1 Beekman street. Father Whelan, as Archbishop Corrigan informed us, was a good French scholar, in fact a man

who preferred rather to speak French than English, though on account of some regulations of the Congregation De Propaganda Fide there was at first some difficulty in receiving Father Whelan into the Vicariate Apostolic. Dr. John Carroll of Baltimore intrusted the New York Mission to the Capuchin Father. His preference for the French language seems to have given umbrage, and many difficulties beset the foundation of St. Peter's parish which Father Whelan undertook in the year 1786. We may note here that the statement made in Archbishop Bayley's History that Father Nugent is the only name of a Catholic priest in the first New York Directory, is incorrect both positively and negatively. Nugent is not found and Phelan is. Outside of this fact and the Irish list given above there is nothing of interest to Catholics except the name of Wm. Burtzell. We suspect that this worthy man was the ancestor of the family that has given more than one Catholic priest to the Church. The Morrogh who occurs in the list of Irish names is probably an ancestor of the Rev. Dr. Morrogh, many years ago pastor of the Church of the Immaculate Conception.

As to the non-Catholics, the information furnished by the Directory is equally scanty. As each denomination has but a single pastor it is hardly likely that it had had more than a single church.

It is strange to miss the name of Trinity Church from a New York Directory, and worthy of the remark that three of the Episcopal clergymen mentioned—Bache, Gross, and Kuntze, should bear German names. However, let us not be hasty; we have no definite statement that Gross and Kuntze were Anglicans, but inferred this from their holding positions in Columbia College.

The only other noteworthy fact connected with the religious conditions of the city is the existence of the Seceder Church, showing that regularity did not commend itself to all of our revolutionary ancestors.

The Directory proper ends on page 52. It is followed, however, by a supplement of twenty-six pages which contains some items of interest to the New Yorker of the 20th Century.

We are at first reminded by the proud fact that New York was at one time the Capital of the United States. In 1786, the Directory reminds us, the Congress of the United Colonies consisted of a single house of which the veteran John Hancock was the President. It numbered only thirty-six members, Rhode Island and North Carolina being unrepresented. Few of the members bear names that have become historical, James Monroe of Virginia being the only one. Among the Catholics the only name of interest is that of Gunning Bedford of Delaware, probably the father of Dr. Gunning S. Bedford, who was well known in New York about the middle of last century, as a distinguished member of the Medical Faculty of the University of the State of New York. Dr. Bedford was a Catholic, probably a convert.

The executive department, or as our volume calls it, the Grand Department of the United States, consisted of the Secretary of State, John Jay, and the Secretary of War, Henry Knox. The former had his office at 8 Broadway, the latter at 15 Smith street. General Knox had charge also of the Navy, or as our book has it, of the marine department. We see that the Government of the United States, without executive head and comprising only two executive departments, the departments of State and War, with the clerical force of only fourteen officials, was still in an embryo state.

The State of New York had for its Governor, George Clinton, and for its Lieutenant-governor, Pierre Van Cortland. The Senate consisted of twenty-three members, nine for southern, four for the middle, six for western, and four for the eastern districts. The only names that would be recognized by the reader of to-day, are those of patriot Lewis Morris and General Philip Schuyler. In the assembly there were sixty-five members, representing twelve counties. We find that no budding statesmen of eminence sat in this body. Though New York was still the capital of the State, which dignity it did not surrender to Albany till 1797, the Directory indicates no official homes for the state dignitaries.

It is noteworthy that the city administration of the time

has had its memory perpetuated more successfully in the Metropolis than the Federal and State dignitaries. Not even John Hancock's name has found public consecration by being given to one of our streets. Jay's memory has been honored in this way. Though I do not know at what time, the location of Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, and Jackson streets indicates the fact that their bearers were thus honored at a time subsequent to 1786. Whether Clinton street was named in honor of George or of De Witt Clinton, our Directory does not say, because in Mr. Frank's day it did not exist. The city administration of 1786 must have been very popular as we infer from the fact that both Mayor Duane and Recorder Varic have given their names to New York streets. We have already recorded the fact that a special paragraph in the supplement refers to the men of law. The only profession besides the jurists which are deemed worthy of a special paragraph in the supplement are the peruque-makers, and the goldsmiths. The word peruque, with its synonym periwig, would perhaps puzzle many a prize scholar in the modern high schools, and yet we can have no correct conception of George Washington at his court without the peruque. That the goldsmiths should take their place alongside of the peruque-makers is but fair and the honor thus accorded to these professions will bring the ladies the pleasant consciousness, that the Daughters of the Revolution are devout followers of their continental foremothers at least in one important respect—in their worship of Dame Fashion. The Directory records the foundation of the Bank of New York which, however, as we learn from other sources, was hardly fully developed at this time. At its head we find Mr. Isaac Roosevelt, a name that has risen still higher in our days. Among the directors we note the name of Nicholas Low and Alexander Hamilton, as also that of Thomas Stoughton, the Spanish Consul of New York and the only Catholic on the Board of Directors. Among the paid officials, however, we meet with the names of Peter Hughes, accountant, and Michael Boyle, runner. The importance of the Freemason organization is attested by a notice fully as long as that of the

peruque-makers. At its head we find Robert Livingston, member of the Continental Congress and Chancellor of the State of New York, subsequently Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The grand treasurer was Daniel McCormick, who was also a director of the Bank of New York.

There remain lists of the officers of three societies, two of which still exist, while the third has lost its "raison d'être." The last was the Society for promoting the manumission of slaves, which reminds us that, even after the Declaration of Independence, New York for a time tolerated the institution of slavery. As early as 1786 there was a movement on foot to suppress it. At the head of this society, it is worthy of notice, was the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the United States Government, Mr. John Jay. The other officials show no names of prominence.

The two other societies may be classed as social associations, the one is strictly speaking American and in fact patriotic—the Society of the Cincinnati of the State of New York. Its President was General Alexander McDougall, a Scotchman by birth, who had been appointed general in the American army and defeated at the battle of White Plains and who died in the very year 1786. As the society calls itself the Cincinnati of the State of New York, we need not be surprised that but few of its members appear in the Directory proper, for few of them were residents of the city which, as we have said, was occupied by the British during the War of Independence. The entire number of members here set down is 168, not ten of whom are citizens of New York. But then we must remember that New York having been occupied by the British during the greater part of the War of Independence could not furnish a long list of patriots, and not enough of time had elapsed in 1786 to bring many old Continentals from elsewhere. It is rather strange that while we meet with some four or five German members of the Cincinnati we can identify only one Irish patriot, Mr. John Connolly.

When speaking of the calendar we remarked that while St. George was ignored, yet the feasts of St. Andrew, St.

Patrick, St. David and St. Nicholas were duly noted. In the supplement however we find no trace of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick nor of the Welsh St. David Society, nor the Highlanders of St. Nicholas. On the other hand, we have an abundance of Scotchmen, the membership of the St. Andrew's Society of the State of New York being recorded at 110 regular members and 14 honorary members. The Livingston name appears six times in the list including Chancellor Robert Livingston as Vice-president. The most distinguished name on the roll is that of Alexander Hamilton. Lastly we note the name of Walter Buchanan, who may have been the ancestor of some Catholic families still existing in New York.

These studies, which have been a source of interest and amusement to the writer, he hopes will prove of some interest to the reader. They will have attained their full purpose if they will lead other members of the Catholic Historical Society to communicate any facts known to them about old New York and especially Catholic New York, to the *Historical Records and Studies*.

DR. DIEGO ALVAREZ CHANCA, OF SEVILLE, SPAIN.

BY DR. A. M. FERNANDEZ DE YBARRA, OF NEW YORK CITY.

WITH Christopher Columbus, on his second voyage of discovery to America, in the year 1493, there came Dr. Diego Alvarez Chanca, a distinguished practitioner of much learning and professional skill. He was physician-in-ordinary to the King and Queen of Castile and Aragon, and the year before sailing with Columbus had attended the first-born child of their Catholic Majesties, Princess Isabella (who afterward became Queen of Portugal), during a serious and dangerous illness. He was a native of the city of Seville, and had been especially appointed by the Spanish monarchs to accompany that expedition, not only on account of its great political and commercial importance, but also because among the fifteen hundred persons who came over from Europe to America in that fleet were several distinguished court personages and a large number of aristocratic young gentlemen belonging to the best families of the Spanish nobility—restless and daring warriors who had done excellent military service in the war just ended against the Moors.

Among those men of distinction who came from Spain to America in that expedition may be mentioned the following: Juan Ponce de León, the future conqueror of Porto Rico and later the discoverer of Florida; Alonso de Ojeda, the future discoverer and explorer of the north coast of South America, with whom the Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, made his first trip to the New World that bears his name; Pedro Margarit, the subsequent discoverer of the archipelago to which he gave the name of the Marguerite Isles; Juan de la Cosa, the expert pilot and cosmographer, author of the first map *Ms.* of America in existence, drawn by him in the year 1500 and now in the Royal Naval Museum at Madrid; Antonio de Torres, a brother of the

nurse (*aya*) of Prince Juan; the father and the uncle of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, the celebrated Spanish historiographer of America, who, I declare without any hesitation, was the greatest friend the American Indians have ever had; Bernal Diaz de Pisa, the accountant or treasury official of that expedition; Diego Marquez, the overseer of the flotilla and also master of one of the caravels; Fermin Zedo, an expert metallurgist, and Villacorta, a noted mechanical engineer.

Other equally distinguished persons who came over in the second voyage of Columbus to America, were: Fray Bernal Boil, Apostolic Delegate of Pope Alexander VI., accompanied by twelve Fathers belonging to different religious Orders, among whom the most prominent were named Fray Román Pane, Fray Juan de Tisin, and Fray Juan de la Duella, familiarly called *el Bermejo*, on account of his red hair. This pious mission of Christianization to the New World was well provided with all things necessary for the dignified performance of its functions, the Queen herself having supplied from her own private chapel the ornaments and the vestments to be used in all solemn religious ceremonies.

Columbus' youngest brother, Diego, who had come from Italy to Spain, attracted by the fame and success of Christopher, was also one of the voyagers in that expedition.

Immediately after landing on the shores of the island called by the native Indian *Haiti* and by the Spaniards *Hispaniola*—the Santo Domingo of to-day—Dr. Chanca showed his skill as an able practitioner of medicine by saving the precious life of Christopher Columbus, who suffered from pernicious malarial fever, as well as the lives of many of the distinguished personages who were also at the point of death as victims of disease during their stay on that island. And seven months later he again saved the life of Columbus, who had a very dangerous attack of typhus fever.¹

Columbus had left thirty-eight men on that island the year before, all lodged in an improvised little wooden fortress con-

¹ Read the monograph entitled *The Medical History of Christopher Columbus*, published in English in *The Journal of the American Medical Society*.

structed with the remains of the caravel *Santa Maria*, which had been wrecked on the reefs; but on his return thither, he found that all those companions of his first voyage of discovery had been massacred by the native Indians, and the little fortress burned and leveled to the ground. Those thirty-eight men had been left under the military command of the hidalgo Diego de Arana Enriquez, a brother-in-law of Columbus, and under the professional care of Maese Juan, one of the two ship surgeons or *fisicos* (as they were at that time called in Spain) who had come with Columbus on his first voyage of discovery to America, and undoubtedly were the two first physicians to tread American soil.

The expeditionists at last found a convenient place for the establishment of a permanent settlement in the island of Santo Domingo, which was at a distance of about thirty miles to the east from where the fortress *La Navidad* had been constructed. And in the selection of this place the professional advice of Dr. Chanca was duly consulted. It was on the shore of a good bay, on the north coast of the island, on high ground, with two rivers of potable water near by, and the back part well closed by the thick growth of an impassible forest, that protected it from being set on fire by the Indians during a night attack. There, in that spot, was immediately commenced the building up of the very first Christian town of the New World, to which Columbus gave the appropriate name of Isabella, his great protectress. The ruins of the stone buildings in a solitary waste constitute to-day the melancholy relic of that historical locality.

In that locality Dr. Chanca wrote his famous letter to the municipal council or *Cabildo*² of his native city, which manuscript, penned in the Spanish language of the fifteenth century, is unquestionably the first written document about the flora, the fauna, the ethnology, and the ethnography of America.³

² This is the name the corporation of a town was then called in Spain, equivalent to *Chapter*, after the chapter of a cathedral or collegiate church. It is now called the *Ayuntamiento*, and is composed of a *Corregidor* or *Alcalde*, and several *Regidores*; the first corresponding to Mayor, and the latter to Aldermen.

³ See the translation of that important historical manuscript in the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Publications*.

to long and tedious journeys were all sources of discouragement. But because of his zeal he had the happiness, before leaving for his new field of labor, to see the condition of religion vastly improved.

In June, 1798, accompanied by the Rev. John Dilhet, he arrived in Detroit. Here he found religious conditions far from ideal. Education had received little attention, and morality was exposed to many and grave dangers. The town had long been an Indian trading center. At certain seasons, delegations from Indian tribes came to receive their annuities and to barter their peltries. On the same occasions came also hunters, *voyageurs*, and *coureurs de bois*—men with little respect for morality or public order. To the Christian element of the town these visits were a constant source of alarm, for their evil influence continued to be felt long after the visitors had departed. To check these and similar evils, to inspire his people with a love of learning, thereby promoting the cause of education and religion, were some of the tasks which Father Richard saw before him; and by the austerity of his life, by his zeal and eloquent appeals, he soon exerted a salutary influence for the reformation of existing abuses.

But he could not devote himself exclusively to promoting the welfare of Detroit. The numerous missions in the surrounding country demanded a share of his attention. During his first year he visited the various settlements between the River Raisin and the shores of Lake St. Clair. After a year spent in preliminary work he made his first extended missionary journey. The island of Mackinac was the first important station which he visited. There he found whites, half-breeds, and Indians, the last-named making up the greatest part of the nominal Catholics. A letter to Bishop Carroll describes the condition of the Indians: "The trade here is principally in liquors, and as long as this continues there can be no prospect of making the Indians permanent Christians; though the traders acknowledge it would be better for their own interests if no rum were sold to the natives, they persist in supplying them for fear of losing their trade. God only knows how

THE REV. GABRIEL RICHARD: EDUCATOR,
STATESMAN, AND PRIEST.

BY REV. JOHN J. O'BRIEN.

ON the massive facade of the Detroit City Hall one may see to-day four statues. They were presented to the city by a well-known local historian and were designed to honor the memory of the men who figured most prominently in the exploration and civilization of the Northwest. La Salle, Cadillac, Marquette, and Richard have long since passed away, but those silent images speak to the present generation of the great things that they accomplished. In the religious, the educational, and the political development of Detroit during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the last named was a leading figure.

From the establishment, in 1701, of Cadillac's colony, Detroit had been the seat of government in the Northwest under the successive régimes of France, England, and the United States. At the close of the eighteenth century it was still a military post, with a population of about two thousand. The people, for the greater part, were French Catholics. With few exceptions the English-speaking element was non-Catholic. St. Anne's parish comprised not only the village but also the territory included in the present State of Michigan, a large part of Wisconsin, and the islands in Lakes Huron and Michigan. Though missions had been established at various points along the lake shores and the river banks, they were seldom visited by a priest, and it was to Detroit that the faithful in those distant communities looked for the ministrations of religion. In 1798 this extensive parish was in charge of the aged Father Levadoux. As Father Levadoux's assistant, the talented and energetic young priest, Gabriel Richard, began his career in Detroit in June of that year.

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John Jay
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
NEW YORK

pastoral residence, and the schools were all reduced to ashes, and the zealous pastor saw the material results of seven years' labor destroyed in a few hours. Severe, however, as was this blow, he was not discouraged. The manner in which he endeavored to repair the loss is a striking example of that determination of character which marked his whole career. The people, deprived of their homes, were exposed to much sufferings. Food became scarce, and many were left without a place of shelter. In the midst of these difficulties Father Richard labored night and day to provide for the sufferers, and, without regard to creed or race, all who were in need shared the benefits of his efforts. From the military authorities he obtained tents and food, which he distributed to those whom the fire had left homeless. For the church and school buildings, too, he was quick to find a substitute. For a short time religious services were held in a tent erected on the commons, but soon a large warehouse was fitted up as a temporary church.

About this time Father Richard was requested by his ecclesiastical superiors to return to France, but some of the church trustees, who for a long time had been causing him serious annoyance, availed themselves of a calumnious report to have a writ issued against him, which detained him in the city.

Within three years after the fire the Catholic schools of Detroit were again in a flourishing condition. There were at least six primary schools in the town and the immediate vicinity. There were two academies for girls; and it is a noteworthy fact that in these institutions, in addition to the ordinary course of instructions, the students were taught the use of the spinning-wheel and the loom. An attempt was also made to supply the rudiments of a scientific training. It was Father Richard's aim to establish a school for the higher education of young men. To quote his own words: "It would be very necessary to have in Detroit a public building for a similar academy in which the higher branches of mathematics, most important languages, geography, history, natural and moral



REV. GABRIEL RICHARD

PASTOR OF ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, DETROIT.

1799-1832

philosophy should be taught to young gentlemen of our country, and in which should be kept the machines the most necessary for the improvement of useful arts, for making the most necessary physical experiments, and framing a beginning of a public library."

Nor was Father Richard concerned solely with the welfare of the adherents of his own faith. Every movement that aimed to improve the community received his hearty support. This is illustrated by his interest in the founding of the University of Michigan.

In a general way the third article of the Ordinance of 1787 provides for education in the Northwest territory: "General morality and knowledge being necessary to the good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." The first attempt of the Territory of Michigan to put this provision into operation was made on August 26, 1817, when the legislature passed an act "to establish the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigan." As is proved by a decision of the Supreme Court, January, 1856, this institution formed the beginning of the present university at Ann Arbor. The act of the Legislature was drafted by Judge Woodward, who, it is said, coined more words than any other American of his time. It provided for thirteen "didaxiim" or professorships, embracing the following departments of learning: Literature, mathematics, natural history, natural philosophy, astronomy, and chemistry; the medical, economical, ethical, military, historical, and intellectual sciences; and, finally, "Catholepistemia" or universal science. The president of the university was to be professor of this last-named subject, while the vice-president was to teach the "intellectual sciences."

On September 8, 1817, the work of the University was placed in the hands of Rev. John Monteith and Rev. Gabriel Richard. The former, a graduate of Princeton College, and pastor of the Protestant church, was chosen president and held seven professorships; the latter was appointed vice-president

and given the six remaining professorships. They were responsible for the management of the University, and were amenable only to the Governor, by whom they were appointed. The annual salary of the president was twenty-five dollars, that of the vice-president eighteen dollars and fifty cents; and that of each professor twelve dollars and fifty cents. Owing to the scarcity of funds, and the slender appropriations of the Governor and Judges, the building of the University proceeded slowly. Of the precise character of the work accomplished by the first two directors of the University of Michigan little is known. It is of record, however, that on February 8, 1821, two hundred and fifteen dollars were appropriated for the president's salary for the years 1818, 1819, and 1820; but the vice-president's salary is not mentioned.

That Father Richard actually taught in the new University is highly probable, though not certain. It is clear that at least during the early years of its career he manifested a lively interest in its progress, for when the original University Act was repealed on April 30, 1821, and a new corporation was created under the title of the University of Michigan, his name was placed on the list of the twenty trustees, who, together with the Governor, received all the rights of the old corporation. With these facts before us it is only fair to assume that his subsequent relations with the University were of a character similar to those which have just been mentioned.

As a further evidence of his interest in education may be mentioned the fact that he was an active member of the Michigan Historical Society. His name appears on the list of charter members. On February 27, 1832, he received through Major Henry Whiting an invitation from this Society to deliver the anniversary address. In answer he wrote: "I regret that the extent of my correspondence, the multiplicity of my clerical functions, . . . and several other pressing and uncontrollable circumstances do imperiously prevent me from accepting a task which I consider a duty in all good citizens to assist in preserving for the benefit of society the facts of the early transactions which have taken place in our Territory." The letter also in-

philosophy should be taught to young gentlemen of our country, and in which should be kept the machines the most necessary for the improvement of useful arts, for making the most necessary physical experiments, and framing a beginning of a public library."

Nor was Father Richard concerned solely with the welfare of the adherents of his own faith. Every movement that aimed to improve the community received his hearty support. This is illustrated by his interest in the founding of the University of Michigan.

In a general way the third article of the Ordinance of 1787 provides for education in the Northwest territory: "General morality and knowledge being necessary to the good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." The first attempt of the Territory of Michigan to put this provision into operation was made on August 26, 1817, when the legislature passed an act "to establish the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania." As is proved by a decision of the Supreme Court, January, 1856, this institution formed the beginning of the present university at Ann Arbor. The act of the Legislature was drafted by Judge Woodward, who, it is said, coined more words than any other American of his time. It provided for thirteen "didaxiim" or professorships, embracing the following departments of learning: Literature, mathematics, natural history, natural philosophy, astronomy, and chemistry; the medical, economical, ethical, military, historical, and intellectual sciences; and, finally, "Catholepistemia" or universal science. The president of the university was to be professor of this last-named subject, while the vice-president was to teach the "intellectual sciences."

On September 8, 1817, the work of the University was placed in the hands of Rev. John Monteith and Rev. Gabriel Richard. The former, a graduate of Princeton College, and pastor of the Protestant church, was chosen president and held seven professorships; the latter was appointed vice-president

and given the six remaining professorships. They were responsible for the management of the University, and were amenable only to the Governor, by whom they were appointed. The annual salary of the president was twenty-five dollars, that of the vice-president eighteen dollars and fifty cents; and that of each professor twelve dollars and fifty cents. Owing to the scarcity of funds, and the slender appropriations of the Governor and Judges, the building of the University proceeded slowly. Of the precise character of the work accomplished by the first two directors of the University of Michigan little is known. It is of record, however, that on February 8, 1821, two hundred and fifteen dollars were appropriated for the president's salary for the years 1818, 1819, and 1820; but the vice-president's salary is not mentioned.

That Father Richard actually taught in the new University is highly probable, though not certain. It is clear that at least during the early years of its career he manifested a lively interest in its progress, for when the original University Act was repealed on April 30, 1821, and a new corporation was created under the title of the University of Michigan, his name was placed on the list of the twenty trustees, who, together with the Governor, received all the rights of the old corporation. With these facts before us it is only fair to assume that his subsequent relations with the University were of a character similar to those which have just been mentioned.

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dicates the method to be pursued in a thorough investigation into the history of the Northwest. It is an undoubted proof of the scholarship and the patriotism of the author.

In the religious education of the people, Father Richard had more than an ordinary share. His frequent and eloquent discourses to his own congregation exerted a powerful influence for good. But his efforts did not end here. He was, perhaps, the first priest in the United States to deliver a series of religious lectures to non-Catholics. His attractive personality and the peculiar circumstances of the time account for this fact. In 1807 the Governor and other officials requested him to lecture to them in the English language. With reluctance he accepted the invitation. "I was sensible of my incapacity," he wrote to Bishop Carroll, "but as there was no English minister here of any denomination I thought it might be of some utility to take possession of the ground." Every Sunday at noon the lectures were delivered in the council house. Setting aside questions of a controversial nature he spoke of the general principles to be observed in the investigation of truth, the sources of error, and the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, such as the spirituality and immortality of the human soul.

Probably with a view to obtain financial assistance in rebuilding St. Anne's Church Father Richard visited Baltimore in 1808. On this occasion he secured a printing-press and a font of type, which were sent to Detroit and set up at Spring Wells in the house of Jacques Lasselle. Parts of this old press are still in existence. The records of the Michigan State Historical Society show that at a meeting held in December, 1857, Mr. George W. Pattison presented to the Society "The lever of the first printing-press used in the State of Michigan, having been brought to this city from Baltimore, about 1810, by Father Richard."

It is, however, almost certain that there was a printing-press in Michigan as early as 1777, for in that year Lieutenant Governor Hamilton issued to the "rebel Colonists" a number of proclamations dated from Detroit and in all probability

printed there. Again, in 1785, there was one in the possession of Alexander and William Macomb. In a letter written that year to one of their correspondents in London they acknowledged the receipt of the machine, but complained that no directions had been sent for putting it in working order. There is no evidence that this press was ever used.

The arrival of Father Richard's press was an important event in the history of Detroit. Before that time various methods had been employed in making public announcements. Sometimes notices were written by hand and posted in conspicuous places. The town-crier, too, was an early feature in the village. At St. Anne's there existed a custom which was a slight modification of the town-crier's duties. For some time, at least, Theophilus Mettez, the assistant sacristan, was accustomed, at the close of the Sunday services, to station himself outside the church and announce entertainments and other events of public interest to occur during the week.

The press was frequently called into service by the Governor and Judges of the Territory in issuing official documents. From it also, in 1812, came General Brock's proclamation. Shortly after its arrival it was employed in the production of a newspaper. On August 31, 1809, the *Michigan Essay, or Impartial Observer*, was introduced to the people. This paper was "printed and published" by James M. Miller, but under the immediate supervision of Father Richard. At least five copies of the first issue are still in existence. It was to be published every Thursday, but it is doubtful whether more than a single number ever appeared. Except one and a half columns in French, the paper, containing sixteen columns, is in the English language. The contents include news items copied from various home and foreign papers, a few poems, and short prose articles on miscellaneous topics. No space is devoted to local news, and there is only one advertisement—that of St. Anne's School. The *Essay* was the first newspaper published in the Territory of Michigan, and, though it proved a failure, it shows another phase of Father Richard's activity.

Between the years 1809 and 1812 he issued from the same

press at least seven books. These are religious and educational in character. While James M. Miller was in charge of the printing-office, two books were published. The first is "*The Child's Spelling-Book or Michigan Instructor; being compiled from the most approved authors by a teacher of Detroit.*" It is a volume of two hundred and fifty pages and bears date of August 1, 1809. The second work printed by Miller is a prayer-book of three hundred pages, with the title: *L'ame pénitente, ou la nouveaux considération sur les vérités éternelles.*

It is a peculiar fact that during the year 1810 nothing appears to have been published. But in 1811 Mr. A. Coxshaw, who succeeded Miller as printer, brought out two new works: *La journée du Chrétien Sanctifié par la prière et méditation*, and *Les Ornemens de la Memoire, ou les Traits Brillans des Poètes Francois les plus célèbres: avec des Dissertations sur chaque genre de style, pour perfectionner l'éducation de la Jeunesse.* The latter is a slender volume, of one hundred and thirty-two pages, divided into seven chapters. It is composed of poetical excerpts, mostly from Corneille and Racine, with short introductions and commentaries in prose. The first chapter, which occupies almost one-third of the entire work, is devoted to a consideration of some of the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, such as the existence of God and the immortality of the human soul. The remaining chapters deal with a variety of subjects. The selections are arranged under different headings with a view to accentuate the more obvious principles of correct literary expression.

In 1812, under the management of Theophilus Mettez, three works were issued, all of them printed both in French and English. The volume of *Epistles and Gospels for all the Sundays and Feast-days of the Year* enjoys the distinction of being the first publication, in the Northwest, of a part of the Sacred Scriptures. The *Children's Journal*, as the title explains, is a collection of "moral and entertaining stories in dialogue from the French of M. Berquin." The remaining work is *A Short Historical Catechism containing a Summary*

of Sacred History and Christian Doctrine. It is divided into two parts: the first an outline of the history of revealed religion from the creation of the world down to the close of the Christian persecutions; the second, a brief exposition of the teachings of the Catholic Church.

If we consider the extent of the work involved in these publications, the limited resources at the author's command, the numerous duties that engaged his attention, and the difficulties to be overcome, we can better realize the intensity of the zeal that urged him to the accomplishment of these results. It was his intention to publish other books, but the War of 1812 brought the work to an abrupt close. The demoralization following Hull's surrender of Detroit was indescribable, and Father Richard fell a victim to the injustice that prevailed. Though a priest, and therefore a non-combatant, he was arrested by General Brock at the instigation of some refugee Canadian Tories, who hated him because of his patriotic sentiments. During the war he was retained as a prisoner at Sandwich, where he used his influence with the Indian chiefs to save American prisoners from torture. On regaining freedom he returned to Detroit, where he found many of the people destitute. On this occasion his conduct was a repetition of what it had been after the fire of 1805. Besides a large supply of grain he purchased provisions of various kinds; these he distributed gratuitously to all who were in need.

For his work in the cause of religion and education Father Richard deserves the lasting gratitude of the people in whose behalf he labored; and had he rendered no other public service his right to a prominent place among the benefactors of Detroit and of Michigan would still remain beyond dispute. But he has a further claim to distinction. As a private citizen he was interested in every movement that tended to the public good. As a territorial delegate to the national legislature for two years, he so represented the interests of Michigan as to leave his enemies without even plausible grounds for criticism. His election to Congress stands unique in the history of the United States. In speaking of his advent to Congress *The Niles*

Register says: "Mr. Gabriel Richard, a Roman Catholic priest, has been elected a delegate from Michigan Territory. This is probably the first instance of the kind in the United States." And we may add that during the succeeding eighty years no one performing the functions of a priest has held a seat in Congress.

Nor was his election due to the lack of competitors. He was opposed by John Biddle, a brother of the celebrated Nicholas Biddle; by Austin E. Wing, a prominent citizen of Detroit; and by three others, Whitney, McCloskey, and Williams. Nevertheless he received twenty-three votes more than Biddle, his closest rival. In the contest he was strongly supported by many of his non-Catholic friends. A number of Catholics, under the leadership of Williams, a trustee of St. Anne's, bitterly opposed their pastor. There is little doubt that this faction was largely responsible for his defeat two years later.

For mingling in politics Father Richard was severely criticized, yet no one doubted the sincerity of his motives. An important consideration in his acceptance of the nomination was the financial condition of St. Anne's Church. For buildings and other improvements the parish had incurred a large debt, which he hoped to lessen with the aid of his congressional salary. He was true to his generous purpose; St. Anne's profited materially by the liberal contributions he was thus enabled to offer. Referring to this matter Father Gallitzin wrote: "When I heard of your election to Congress I disapproved of it at once; but I have the honor to inform you that if you can manage to have a seat in Congress all your life, you will do more good for religion with your salary than many other missionaries with all their zeal and preaching."

The circumstances of Father Richard's departure for Washington were no less remarkable than the fact of his election. From a prison cell he went to take his seat with the lawmakers of the nation. Yet he had committed no crime—he had simply performed the duties of his priestly office. One of his parishioners, a certain Mr. Labadie, had obtained a civil divorce and

remarried; Father Richard declared him excommunicated. Labadie brought suit, and on the plea that his reputation and his business had been injured, secured a judgment against the priest for \$1,116. This amount he refused to pay, and as he had no property he was imprisoned. On hearing of this fact three of his parishioners became his sureties, and he soon set out for the Capitol. The judgment was eventually arrested.

In Washington a new difficulty awaited him. Since their defeat at the polls his political enemies had not been inactive, but their endeavors to prevent his admission to Congress resulted in failure. On Monday, December 8, 1823, he presented himself in the House, produced his credentials, was qualified, and took his seat as delegate from the Territory of Michigan. Three days later Mr. Scott presented the petition of Mr. Biddle, praying that the election and return of Richard be set aside and his seat vacated. This petition was referred to the committee of elections. In its report, on January 13th following, the committee considered in detail the objections of Biddle. These were two: First, that the court of Wayne County, in the Territory of Michigan, where Richard had made application for naturalization, was not authorized to admit aliens to citizenship; and second, that, even if this court had the necessary jurisdiction, the sitting delegate had not been duly elected "inasmuch as he had not resided in the Territory one year previous to the election, in the quality of a citizen of the United States." The report refers to the ordinance of 1787 as "the basis of all the Territorial governments which have since existed," and states further that "unless it can be deduced from the general principles of the Constitution, there is no authority to exclude an alien from holding a seat in Congress as a delegate from a Territory." It was not, however, on this account that the objections were set aside. The committee decided that the court of Wayne County had the jurisdiction necessary in the case; and that the law which required a year's residence in the Territory before he could vote or be voted for regarded not the citizen but the individual. The report was ordered to lie on the table. On February 2d, the House passed an order that John Biddle

withdraw his memorial and documents contesting the election of Gabriel Richards.

As a territorial delegate he had no vote. But during his first year in office he presented petitions relating to lands and roads in Michigan, to the extension of streets in Detroit, and to the location of school grants. It was during the second session of the Eighteenth Congress that General Lafayette made his last visit to the United States. On December 10, 1824, Father Richard, with his fellow members, received the distinguished visitor in the House of Representatives. The only important speech that he made in Congress was delivered January 28, 1825. The House had resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the "bill to authorize the surveying and opening of a road from Detroit to Chicago, in the State of Illinois." When Speaker Clay requested him to express his views on the bill he arose and made a strong plea in its behalf. He called attention to the commercial importance of a road which "would connect the East of the Union with the West," which would afford facility for transporting troops and military provisions. He pointed out the fact that during the War of 1812 the Government had incurred an expenditure of ten or twelve million dollars owing to the lack of roads which should have been previously provided. "This road," he said, "is, therefore, to be beneficial to your finances, your military operations, and to all parts of the Union as well as to Michigan itself, as it will afford all kinds of encouragement to the citizens of the Eastern States, who wish to emigrate to the beautiful and fertile lands of the West." The bill became a law on the last day of the session, when Father Richard's congressional career came to a close.

Again he became a candidate for delegate, but this time he was not successful. Biddle and Wing were once more his opponents. Williams, it appears, worked not so much to support either of the other candidates as to defeat Richard. Biddle received the largest number of votes, but the election was contested, and the decision rested with a board of canvassers. This board rejected as illegal enough votes to give the certificate of election to Wing, and the contest was thus removed from Detroit

to Washington, where, after more than a year, the decision was finally made in his favor. Richard's friends drew up a resolution protesting against the decision of the board of canvassers on the ground that he would have been elected had the board rejected certain votes against him for the same reason that they had rejected others in his favor. In December, 1825, Richard sent two communications to Speaker Taylor, setting forth his claims. In one of these memorials he gave three reasons to show that he had been dealt with unjustly: First, that the presiding officers at the elections had admitted to the polls many illegal voters who were opposed to him; second, that they had forcibly prevented many of his friends from voting; and third, that in giving the certificate of election to Wing the canvassers had acted unfairly. The committee of elections, however, did not sustain his objections, and the decision, which was not given until the greater part of the term had expired, awarded the honor to Austin E. Wing.

A short time after the destructive fire of 1805 the parochial services of St. Anne's Church were held in the chapel which had been fitted up in the remodelled warehouse of Jacques Lasselle, at Spring Wells, and here they continued to be held for fifteen years. The locating of the church at this point was the remote cause of a serious dispute. Though the site was a most beautiful one it was too far removed from the eastern part of the parish. To obviate this difficulty a new parish, known as the *Côté du Nord Est*, was formed. There a church was built, and Father Richard or his assistant officiated on Sundays and special festivals. Until the question arose of selecting a site for the new church of St. Anne, matters ran on very smoothly. But on this point opinion was divided. The pastor, together with a majority of the trustees and parishioners, favored the Little Military Square which the Governor and Judges had designated for that purpose—the place which was finally agreed upon. The trustees of the *Côté du Nord Est* insisted on having the new church built in their parish, and went so far as to form a corporation with the title of St. Anne of Detroit. The case was referred to Bishop Flaget, under

whose jurisdiction Detroit had been since the erection of the See of Bardstown in 1810. In 1817 he issued a pastoral letter interdicting the church of the *Côté du Nord Est*. The trouble was not settled, however, until the following year, when Bishop Flaget came to Detroit. Through his interposition a reconciliation was soon effected, and the removal of the interdict was made the occasion of an elaborate celebration. The cornerstone of the new church was laid June 11, 1818. Thus was set at rest the most serious trouble which Father Richard encountered during the whole course of his pastoral career.

With the consecration, in 1822, of Father Fenwick as the first Bishop of Cincinnati, Michigan passed under a new jurisdiction. For the purpose of ascertaining the distribution of Catholics in the Northwest and thus guiding the Bishop in the appointment of priests, Father Richard had made in the preceding year an extended journey through the territory under his care. A letter to Archbishop Maréchal gives the total Catholic population of his various parishes as about six thousand. In all that vast territory there were five churches and two priests—himself and his assistant. The missionary work of Father Richard, among the Indians as well as the white settlers, was unsurpassed by that of any one priest in the United States during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. "In fact," says Richard R. Elliot, "in no part of the country was there a field so extensive or so difficult of access as that extending from the head waters of Lake Erie to the Sault de Ste. Marie, which had been confided to his care under the metropolitan administrations of Archbishops Carroll, Neale, Maréchal, and Whitfield, and under Bishops Flaget and Fenwick."

To the close of his life Father Richard was active in the performance of his duties. When the Asiatic cholera, with its attendant train of suffering and misery, smote the people of Detroit in the summer of 1832, he devoted himself without reserve to the assistance of the sick and dying. Faithful to the members of his flock and desirous of their welfare, he forgot himself, until finally he fell a victim to the disease. With the words of holy Simeon on his lips he expired on September 13,

1832. Around his death-bed were gathered Bishop Fenwick and Fathers Baraga, Hotsher, and Badin. His death was regarded as a public calamity; and amid the solemn tolling of all the bells of the city, his remains were followed to the grave by a large concourse of people, including men of every class and every denomination. His body was temporarily laid in the cemetery, thence it was placed in a stone vault beneath the church which he had labored so hard to build. Here his remains rested until 1889, when they were transferred to the vault beneath the new church of St. Anne. A memorial window bearing an excellent likeness of him was also removed from the old church to a prominent place in the new.

His career was an enviable one. Bishop Fenwick said of him: "He was the oldest, the most respectable, and the most meritorious missionary in Michigan." Judge Campbell, who in his earlier days knew him, wrote: "He was not only a man of elegant learning, but of excellent common sense, and a very public-spirited citizen," and Judge Cooley paid him this tribute: "Father Richard, a faithful and devoted pastor, under many discouragements did what he found it in his power to do to restore or convert the people to Christianity, and to moral and decent lives. He would have been a man of mark in almost any community and at any time."

‘MADAM PELE’S’ AWE-INSPIRING VISIT TO KAU.

REV. CELESTINE N. RUAAULT, who celebrated his golden jubilee as Catholic missionary in the District of Kau, Hawaiian Islands, on June 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1906, has furnished the following data regarding the memorable visit of “Madam Pele” to the district in 1868. The story of the terrible experiences of himself and his parishioners during the awful days succeeding the eruptions follows, but it may be of interest to many readers of his narration to preface this page of Hawaiian history by a few explanatory paragraphs.

“Madam Pele” is the Hawaiian goddess of all volcanic fires; she is the Creatress of the Hawaiian Isles, and is feared and respected even to this day by many natives of the “old stock.” She started in on her wonderful work of creation in the northwestern end of this group and in time made one island after the other appear above the surface of the sea. After having extinguished all her fires, she moved her court to the spot now occupied by the largest island of our group—Hawaii. Here she had been holding forth from time immemorial, and now she is (occasionally) in full swing in the most southern portion of this, the last and largest one in the group, right on the confines of our dear Kau district. The volcano in which this dreaded deity reigns supreme is called in Hawaiian, *Lua Pele o Kilauea*.

In reading these reminiscences one is forcibly reminded of these soul-stirring words in Shakespeare:

. But that I am forbid
To tell the secrets of my prison-house,
I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul; freeze thy young blood;
Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres;
Thy knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine:
But this eternal blazon must not be
To ears of flesh and blood.

The continual volumes of smoke and steam; the intermittent, undulating, jerking, wave-like, and thumping earthquakes; the dreadful shower of cinders and ashes; the sudden lava and mud-flows and the yawning fissures and terrible splits in the crust of mother earth—all this will more than aid our imagination to understand the more readily the nervous excitement of the people that passed through this dreadful crucible.

On March 28, 1868 (Saturday), says Father Ruault, I was at Moaula, having arrived there the previous day from Hilea, my home or central mission chapel. I then went out, as I always do, among my parishioners, notifying them of my arrival and incidentally telling them when services would be held at the local chapel.

While on this spiritual errand, some natives drew my attention to a thing quite unusual. "Father, do you know or see anything strange?" they asked. "Just look at this." Then they picked up, to the right and left, handfuls of what is known as Pele's Hair. These are bunches of dark-brown, thread-like filaments formed in a very mysterious manner from molten lava, exceedingly brittle and easily rubbed into a vitreous powder. They are frequently found near the crater, within a radius of a few miles, but on this particular occasion they had rained through the atmosphere to a distance of fully thirty miles.

Proceeding on my way, I took notice, on divers occasions, that Madam Pele was seemingly quite busy in cooking her dread concoction. There was *prima facie* evidence of this everywhere. While chatting here and there to my people, who had gathered on their different stoops and verandas, I was, *nolens volens*, overtaken by a most violent earthquake. It was so violent that my mule, unaccustomed to such rough handling, wanted to lie down, with me on her back. I saw our natives' houses rocking like ships. Then there arose a pitiful wail and lamentation among the people, "Oh, what a terrible quaking! Oh, how dreadful this is! We never witnessed anything similar to this in our whole lives."

Yet this was only the beginning of the evil. The people

were hardly over their first fright when a dense cloud of black smoke arose toward the sea. After such a vicious quake we naturally thought that there would be an eruption or opening outlet—that a new crater would be formed down that way; we felt it to be a good omen, Hawaiian fashion, that as soon as Madam Pele took a sea-bath she would cool off and get over her anger. But our happy omen took another turn—it disappeared at its inception. In a few minutes the dark cloud had entirely vanished. We soon saw, to our utter dismay, that there was no eruption at the sea shore, as we had supposed, but the violent quake had shaken down a big hill and consequently raised that voluminous cloud of dust.

Excited by these unusual experiences, I became very anxious to learn the fate of my little chapel in the village at which I was sojourning. It was built of stone and was now, perhaps, in total ruins. I therefore concluded to discontinue the visits of my parishioners and to go immediately and do a little reconnoitering near the premises of my chapel. I made haste to get on an elevation which commanded a view of it. Thanks be to God, my chapel was still standing, and hurrying to the spot I was delighted to find that it had not been seriously damaged.

Under ordinary circumstances, I get back to my chapel at night, after I am through visiting all my people, and on the following morning am in the habit of hearing confessions, baptizing, etc. On this extraordinary occasion, owing to circumstances and the immediate danger of death, I invited those of my flock, who in their distress came to the chapel to find protection, to prepare at once, by a good confession, for anything almighty God might have in store for them. This invitation needed no repetition, for penitents came flocking to the holy tribunal of penance. While thus employed hearing the confessions of these good people filled with anguish and perturbation, another violent shock occurred. Some of the more panic-stricken rushed for the church doors, not trusting to the safety of the walls. Confessor and penitent alone remained in the church. There came a second and even a third stroke. These things are quickly printed and hastily read, but, merciful God,

what consternation and cold sweat these vicious shocks caused us! It seemed that there was an immense hole underneath the crust of the earth in which every now and then there was a furious surging of what seemed to be liquid fire. Much could be heard and terror only increased by putting one's ear to the ground. Such an infernal hissing, bubbling and furious raging! How insignificant man appeared then! Then we seemed to realize how dependent we were on the Supreme Being. Then we seemed to comprehend the enormity of our daily transgressions. We were at the mercy of the Creator. We smote our sinful breasts with compunction of heart, much as St. Peter of old did in his fragile bark in an infuriated sea. "Lord, save us or we perish."

I have seriously studied up those shocks. We were almost getting accustomed to them, and I am sure I am not exaggerating when I say that we felt more than fifteen hundred of Madam Pele's heavy thumps. People in our neighboring district—Kona—felt some of our shocks, but we of Kau were in for it. We felt the thumpings in their full vigor—Madam Pele's kitchen was below our very feet. It seemed to me that the intensity of the shock varied according to the size of the boulders hurled against the top of these subterranean holes. The force and frequency of these shocks naturally decreased after the crust had finally given way after resisting a fierce cannonade of at least a hundred violent bumps per day. Every stone wall in Kau was down; frame and thatched houses were demolished; crockery and glassware were all in atoms. Men and animals lay smitten on the ground.

The motions of the earth during a quake of any length are very interesting—after the danger is over. Such acrobatic maneuvering must be seen and felt to be understood. The earth's crust moved, at its inception, from north to south, then from east to west, then up and down, then a circular motion followed—all this happening in less time than it takes to tell, hardly fifteen seconds. Men groping on their stomachs spreading out their full width, holding on to grass and shrubs in a vain endeavor to steady themselves, trees and shrubs crashing

against and whipping each other in furious fashion. And all this followed by an ominous silence.

The destruction of Babel or of Jerusalem could hardly have equalled this. It is now almost forty years since almighty God gave me the grace to pass through this trying ordeal, but all the incidents connected therewith are so fresh in my old memory (I am seventy-four) as if they had occurred but yesterday. How grateful I am now, in my fast waning days, that almighty God gave me the necessary presence of mind, the courage and health to guide my poor flock in its sore time of trial—to pray, intercede, and weep with and for them. *Deo Gratias* for all this!

I beg the indulgence of my kind readers for this little deviation from my chapel where I left myself with my penitents. During these shocks, while I was in the confessional, I remember that I tried, instinctively, to ward off if possible the falling debris, or ruins of my church. I did so by covering my head and neck with my hands. It is quite natural for a man to do so, but should the worst have happened, had I for instance been buried with my penitent in the falling ruins, what a glorious death it would have been to have died in the fulfilment of an arduous sacerdotal duty. But apparently I was not yet to leave this sad vale of tears. I was destined to "see the whole show."

The following night passed quietly. The next morning some of my people came to holy Mass from Hilea. They told me that their church had been badly shaken and that the crucifix and the candles had been thrown on the floor. They also told me that in the neighborhood of Kahuku a hole had burst open, out of which great quantities of steam escaped. After our service was over, I repaired at once to Hilea and found things exactly as the natives had described them to me.

The next day (March 30th), I very much longed to see my other three chapels, all stone buildings and as such more exposed to be ruined by earthquakes. It did not take long to get to Honuapo (my next station) and there I saw my beautiful church, built on a solid bed of lava, still standing in its glory. Almighty God spared this edifice for a short time longer, evidently to give me a chance to prepare my local flock for their

passage to eternity. They all assembled and a great number of them made a contrite confession and the next morning received holy communion, which for many among them was their Holy Viaticum, for a few days later they were swept into eternity by a huge tidal wave. After having finished my ministrations here I headed for my next chapel in the village of Naohulua; already stated this chapel was also made of stone. Although it was quite small (just thirty feet long) there is quite an interesting history attached to it.

In the beginning, when the local place of worship was a grass hut, the Catholics of the place made arrangements with those of another village (Naalehu) to have Catholics of both places join hands in building a chapel at Waiohinu (a village between the two above-mentioned ones) equidistant from both villages. All were well pleased with the project but there was a big hitch. The first thing to be procured was a site for the would-be chapel. A very suitable one was found, and could be had for \$300. But unfortunately, before the bargain was struck, the Protestant minister of Waiohinu got wind that Catholics were the willing buyers, whose ultimate intention was to erect thereon a Papist house, where Mariolatry, idolatry, and many other things could be practiced. Of course that settled the question right there and then. He opposed the sale and prevailed on the intending seller not to part with his property. Bigotry ran so high, and so strong were the feeling and prejudice, that in all Waiohinu not a piece of land could be sold for a Catholic chapel. Therefore this little stone chapel at Naohulua was built. It was a big job. The seashore was far away, but we had to go there to get coral to bake it into lime and to pack it on our backs and carry it to this village, over paths fit only for goats. Then sand and stone had to be procured from the same place and over the same path, water had to be carried in buckets and gourds; all this had to be done before the regular work of erecting the chapel could be proceeded with. Our architect-in-chief was one of the mission Brothers, one Brother Charles (may God rest his soul!); with the aid of some good natives that volunteered, the work was happily completed.

Later on they fenced in the church lot with some dry stone, about four or five feet high, but in less than a year this was leveled to the ground by an earthquake.

On arriving at this chapel I was delighted to see that it had not suffered any damage. My next and last chapel was inspected with not so much happiness, for the walls had cracks two inches wide in some places. This chapel had been erected under hardships similar to those mentioned in connection with the chapel previously described.

Having finished the entire inspection of all my chapels in Kau and seen to the spiritual wants of all my people, I resolved to stay, especially since there was some painting being done at the time. While here at Kamaoa I found the shocks just as strong, if not stronger, than in the places previously visited. That these shocks were subterranean I had no doubt, but whether they were infernal or not, I will leave to my patient readers. Be it as it may, our nerves were entirely unstrung by this time, especially so at night. They are actually dreadful then, when you are rudely awakened by a mighty shaking and made to think that your last hour has arrived. In your terror you try to make the best act of contrition you ever made. This prayerful drama of compunction is repeated five or six times during the night—that is, every time a severe shock occurs. Your terror increases and your prayer is all the more fervent when you hear that frightful, unearthly roar at night, when you feel the earth heaving and swelling, and when you hear the crash of the neighboring walls tumbling in the dead silence. During the day-time one has always more confidence.

Being only a short distance from the place where, on the first day of this visitation, such a great amount of steam issued forth from out of the earth, I resolved to investigate this new creation. I found indeed a hole about eighteen feet in diameter and of what appeared to be of immense depth; for on dropping a good-sized rock into it I could not hear any kind of thud. I therefore concluded that it was a "freak of nature." At length came what may be called a "red letter" day of 1868.

Early the following morning a small vessel from Honolulu

was in sight. I hastened to pen a few lines to our headquarters at the capital city, giving them a full detail of Madam Pele's transactions here in Kau. In winding up I told them that I thought the old lady had done her best, and that all was now over. Alas! man often proposes, but God disposes, and so it was in this case. The almighty Stage-manager informed us shortly afterwards that that was only intended to have been the first act in this awful drama. That letter of mine had hardly got aboard when lo and behold! there came a terrific shock, which for violence and impetuosity must be considered No. 1. All other shocks were mere trifles compared to this one. For once I could not stay in my house; hurrying outside, I found that I could not stand; I was fast getting into my second childhood. I therefore tried my baby tricks and endeavored to crawl on all fours. Even then I would hardly succeed.

While in this position, and holding on tight to old mother earth, I saw my dear chapel giving way to the impetuous wrenchings of the earthquake. Happily for all concerned this shock was cut short, or we could not have lived.

After this came a great calm which seemed but to add to our terror in this already too sinister situation. No noise of any kind, no wind, no sign of life, no action was noticeable. Turning toward the mountain I saw numberless columns of smoke rushing out of ever so many crevices in the mountain-side. Perhaps this was an indication of our salvation. The pressure of the subterranean steam ought naturally to abate as soon as it finds a vent in the surface.

Shortly after this the members of my chapel arrived, shedding tears over the ruins of the edifice. What could we do but pray and adore almighty God in this terrible visitation? We retired into the priest's house, and said our beads piously; then I made a few remarks in harmony with the situation, after which they went home.

They had hardly reached there when the news arrived that a tidal wave had wiped Honuapo from the face of the earth, killing many. I hastily saddled my mule and got en route for Honuapo. It may be, thought I, that somebody is in need of

me. On my way thither I met several natives that had escaped from Honuapo in good time. They told me that it was useless for me to go, for there was no village there any more, and that seventeen natives had been carried out to sea by a tidal wave and were drowned. They likewise told me that the church no longer existed. I kept on my way, nevertheless, feeling rather sad about my beautiful chapel, which after having withstood the ravages of the earthquakes had finally become the prey of a tidal wave. On all sides I saw nothing but havoc. Oh, how sad and heavy at heart one feels amid so much desolation! On the way I passed Waiohinu; there I saw the Protestant church in ruins. I passed a man with a bundle under his arm—possibly all he possessed in this world. To this man I tried to speak, but could not get a syllable out of him—possibly he had lost his speech from fright. At the next village, Naalehu, I was again told the news of the Honuapo disaster—that all houses, churches, and seventeen lives were lost. The people at this place invited me to stay with them, but seeing that it was a beautiful moonlight night, I thanked them for their kindness and proceeded on my way. On my arrival at Honuapo I found nothing but indescribable ruin. The ocean had indeed entered and flooded all Honuapo, wrenching everything from it, even the layer of soil on the lava. Only a few solitary heaps of stones remained where once stood a flourishing settlement of natives.

What was I to do now? I started calling at the top of my voice—perhaps there was still one among the living to whom I could speak. At length I had the satisfaction of seeing some one approach, but not a native of Honuapo; he came from Hilea and was seeking his wife. Alas, she was among the tidal wave victims!

Nothing could be done at Honuapo, although I have had the satisfaction of seeing for myself the extent of the damage. So I went on toward Hilea. I could not go very far, as the road was made impassible by the action of a furious sea. I therefore was obliged to take a path on the mountain-side. All at once I was aroused from my reverie by another violent shock, fully as strong as any of the foregoing ones. The bushes along

my path actually whipped my mule into a frenzy, he making for the top of the hill. It was my good fortune that I went uphill; had I been headed down-hill, there is no telling what would have happened, but as it was I soon got control of the frantic beast. After this little incident on my way to Hilea, wherever I found human habitations I invariably found the natives stretched out on the lawns to sleep, no longer trusting to the safety of their houses. Arriving at Hilea, my central mission, I found several natives camping on our premises. The chapel had shifted a little, my house had lost some of its underpinnings and in consequence was quite shaky. The following morning I was happy to be able to say Mass, and since my people did not trust the chapel any more than their own houses, I went outside on the lawn under a spreading "kukui tree" to hear their confessions. I could not cease thinking about my Honuapo chapel; I always had a special predilection for it. And as I might be just as useful in one place as in another, I thought I would go relic-hunting at Honuapo. I got there without mishap and found the place quite deserted. Just one person I found who had come there for the same purpose. All the others had gone to a place of shelter among their friends. On the chapel-site there was not the slightest mark of its former presence, but we recognized some of the stones. Having mortar still attached to them, we knew they belonged to our chapel. We found two relics—only two. One was in the shape of an Hawaiian prayer-book, and the other was the bell, which had been carried to and fro by the waves and finally landed on the sandy shore. That bell did good service before and is doing service at present after its watery experience in the tidal waves almost forty years ago.

We also found the corpse of one of my former friends, whom I had baptized shortly before. It was not an easy job to bury him, there being but two of us. We were without tools, and worse still, there was no soil in which to dig a grave, the wave having taken every bit of soil from the solid lava. Fortunately we found a ready-made grave for him—a deep fissure in the lava, caused by the action of the earthquakes. Into this hole

we put him tenderly, and as we had no soil we put the next best over his mortal remains—stones, which were plentiful, and after having prayed the *De Profundis* for him and all the faithful departed of my recent flock, I left this sad place and went home to Hilea again.

I had not got there any too soon, for my natives were very much perturbed by the prophesy of one of the native *kahunas* (sorcerers) that an awful eruption would take place in this vicinity. They found it very hard not to believe him. I used my best endeavors to quiet them and I think I partially succeeded. This night we passed tranquilly. The following morning I had the good fortune to again celebrate holy Mass, and after that to hear confessions, but, of course, outside on the lawn under the kukui tree. Many people passed our mission; afterwards I was sorry for not having invited them in, for I was told that they put up at an old *kahuna's*. This *kahuna* was a heathen high priest of King Kamehameha. Although this great *kahuna* was also a convert, I nevertheless feared that under the circumstances he might not be able to resist the temptation of returning to old heathenish, superstitious practices. But I was rejoiced later on to find out that I had no reason to fear, for they did nothing more there that night than say their Catholic prayers. The next day I was informed that my chapel at Moaula had been demolished, not one stone being left on the other. I also learned that the tidal wave had visited all along the coast and had done more or less damage everywhere, destroying property and killing many people.

The people told me that there was a mud-flow quite near Moaula, covering a number of houses together with about thirty people. Only one person escaped and that was a sick woman, whose confession I had heard last Saturday (the first day of the earthquake). Almighty God evidently had pity on her, for the flow divided above her house and met again below her house, thereby forming a complete oasis for her personal benefit. Sunday we passed quietly. The natives did not come as plentifully as usual. They had evidently scattered about the different parts

of the district on account of the disaster. Others were kept home by fear.

The following night, after the people had said their night-prayers, they all went to sleep, as usual, outside of their houses. I remained in my house and went to bed. At about midnight I awoke to find my mouth and nostrils filled with some kind of sticky material. My house had recently been whitewashed, and I was inclined to attribute my sensation to the strong smell of lime. While I was cogitating on the taste in my mouth, a native entered my room quite unannounced and requested me to come outside and watch a very queer phenomenon. Following him I saw that a floury kind of stuff had been falling which was plainly visible in the bright moonlight. One was able to write and trace figures in it. I thought to myself: "Well, we are having experiences with volcanoes and no one can tell what is yet in store for us. This might possibly become a second Vesuvius, raining forth ashes to such an extent as to completely cover us up—dwellings and all."

Behold my intellectual panorama—Vesuvius and Kilauea, Pompeii and Hilea. Are we going to have the same fate? I philosophized, thought and cogitated; I thought out plans and strained my thinking powers to devise a remedy, if at all possible. In this state of mind I was meandering about, seeking an elevation which would give me a glance of the top of the mountain. I might possibly be able to discover whether there was immediate danger. The people of their own accord had started in to say their beads. While I was on my errand reconnoitering I noticed a woman whose mind became unhinged from fright. She upbraided me for not praying. I told her that I was continually praying, and at the same time trying to find some means of escape for all of them, if possible. I met still another one that was out of her mind, but fortunately she was asleep, or the two might have combined to attack me. While on my way to the elevation I was seeking, I frequently wrote on the rocks covered with this wonderful ashes. When I got to the place I sought I saw indications of very clear and bright weather. I went home, assured that there was no proxi-

mate danger. Retracing my steps with my mind at ease, and finding my good people all asleep on the lawn encircling the chapel I thought I, too, would go to sleep.

The next morning on arising and looking toward the sea, I saw a strangely dark, heavy cloud such as I had never before observed. I immediately thought this to be a cloud of ashes, the same as the one that had been raining over us last night. After my Mass, and after having confessed a few more of my parishioners under my spreading kukui tree, all of us were startled by a strange noise coming from the bowels of the earth, accompanied by a moderate tremor, much like one would experience on the top of a tunnel when a heavy train is rushing through. This lasted for fully half an hour. There was quite an old native man on our premises at the time; he was badly frightened—in fact he was trembling in every limb. He could hardly speak, but what he did manage to utter was:

"Of all my many experiences with earthquakes (and I have felt many a one) I have never experienced anything similar to this."

I did not think it right to stay long at one place during this affliction, as I wished to give all my parishioners an equal allotment of my time. I took notice that this awe-inspiring drama had a very beneficial effect on my people, for the Almighty spoke to them from the top of the mountain, even as He did to the Israelites of old, with a voice not accompanied by thunder and lightning but with a voice far more terrible. Oh, how many contrite confessions, how many returns to God of really hard cases! So many genuine acts of contrition! So many prayers and ejaculations! They all learned a very good lesson, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." Death menacing them from below, from above, from the sea, no safety anywhere, it was therefore wise on their parts to prepare for the worst.

I was now at a place between Hilea and Naalehu. I found traces of volcanic ashes. There were quite a number of Catholics at this place, and while I was hearing confessions many more came. It was natural for them to seek me. I could see that they wished me to remain with them. This night it did

not need much coaxing to get me to stay, for it was fast growing dark and I had found out how foolhardy it was to travel at night, there being more and more crevices and yawning chasms created by the action of the earthquakes. One might pass into eternity before one was aware that he fell into a chasm. I therefore stayed with the people. They started the beads of their own accord, in two sections, one section turned *vis-a-vis* to the other. After we were through, I happened to look toward the top of the mountain and there I saw a lurid light reflected on the clouds. That was the start of an eruption of our volcano. I wondered very much that the section of our people that had their faces turned toward the mountain did not take notice of that and sound the alarm. They actually showed no signs of emotion whatever. But they later on told me that the dreadful sight caused them so much consternation that they felt paralyzed all over and could not speak. The younger ones in our camp got on their horses and hastened to take in the sight, but I concluded to wait for new developments. I soon noticed in what direction the lava flows would come down. My Kamaoa Catholics had the sad assurance that their village would most certainly be visited by this fiery fiend. They told me later on, when I got there, that they hastily picked up what belongings they could carry to a place of safety. They saw that they had no time to lose, for this lava stream flowed almost as fast as water. In fact in a couple of hours the flow had reached their houses and destroyed them. While this flow was in process frightful reports, compared to which the one hundred and one cannon-shot reports which I heard at Paris in 1856 when the Imperial Prince was born were as mere snaps of one's fingers, were heard in countless numbers. This noise was a perfect enigma to us. Some of the solons in our camp thought the reports were caused by the imprisoned steam forcing its way through the upper, cooled-off crust of the flow. Be that as it may, the reports finally stopped and I thought I would now go and investigate "the cause and effect," as far as it would be advisable for inquisitive man.

In order to reach my destination I had to pass Waiohinu.

I found that village completely deserted, not a living soul, not even a dog or cat could be met with. All had camped out on a neighboring hill. I went up on the hill to see them; there they were sheep without pastor. Their (Protestant) pastor had chosen to be on the safe side of this fiery question. He lost his presence of mind quite early, and on the third day he lost even his "presence of body," for he boarded a schooner bound for the capital city. This pastor was a white man. There was likewise a native minister here in my district and he fled to Hilo, some ninety miles away from here.

I was very much interested in Waiohino, for in the beginning it had been next to impossible to get a foothold there, owing to my reverend friend's antagonism. But we were victorious in the end. A few days after the disaster, the piece of land for which we offered \$300 spot cash was sold to another party for \$250, and that on credit. Thereupon one of our Catholics, a relative of the seller, went to him and expostulated with him for his way of treating the Catholics and at the same time asking him whether three hundred Catholic dollars of ready money were not as good as the two hundred and fifty Protestant dollars on credit. He acknowledged his mistake and answered, "Oh, never mind; I have still another piece for sale and you can have it for \$100." The brave Protestant friend of mine had not yet got back from the capital city; in fact, he did not come back for a couple of months, and by that time we were in peaceful possession. A chapel and school dedicated to the Sacred Heart now ornament it. And at the present writing the school has grown to such dimensions that we are being obliged to put up a new and much more spacious school-house.

But to return to my narrative: I was in quest of the Waiohino people who had fled to a hill. From the top of this hill the mouth of the crater could be plainly seen. It was not vomiting forth any more lava, but was emitting voluminous clouds of smoke. I missed the terrible sight of a volcano in action, which is particularly grand during the darkness of night, but there was still another in store, although less imposing. The lava-flow had set fire to the Kamaoa plains, where grass was

very abundant. This grassy plain on fire was a grand sight. Our local chapel, partly destroyed by the earthquake, could not be reached by the fire, for it was surrounded by a great stone wall; although this had been almost leveled to the ground it was nevertheless a barrier to the flames.

Now I will relate to my readers some remarkable escapes similar to the one related about the mud-flow at Moaula. There was quite an old native living some eight or ten miles from the mouth of the crater. When he saw that the flow was making a bee-line for his domicile, he hastily took what he considered the most precious of his household, his wife, who was very feeble and stone blind in the bargain, and endeavored to carry her to a place of safety. But alas! the flow was too fast for him; he was cut short, he could not proceed. He hurried in the opposite direction. Here, too, he found another molten, red-hot stream cutting off all chances of escape. What was he to do now? Weary of limb and sick at heart, he returned to his miserable shack and there, resigned to what was coming, he patiently awaited his fate, to be cremated alive. But almighty God had pity on him. Just a few yards above his hut the flow divided and encircled his shack and united again several feet below it. Thus a circle of about fifty yards in diameter formed an oasis to protect this worthy old couple. Minor streams from the main flow actually encroached a little on this oasis. The old couple were uncomfortably warm for the time being, but they passed through this trying ordeal unscathed.

Now before winding up my already too long narrative, may I be allowed to venture an opinion and try to explain that mysterious noise, that subterranean rush accompanied by the tremor that almost caused the old native to collapse?

I have since learned that that subterranean noise of thirty minutes' duration took place simultaneously with the fast sinking of the molten lava in the crater. It sunk completely out of sight in the bottom of the crater. Then followed that mad subterranean rush, or underground flow. There was no more fire, no more smoke in Kilauea, the crater. Old Madam Pele traveled within the bowels of mother earth to Kahuku, a distance of sixty

miles, and there she started the racket, causing an eruption, and vomiting forth that quantity of red-hot lava that flowed down past my old native who tried to carry his wife to a place of safety. That was the flow that set the plains afire. So we were right after all when we said that the noise sounded like that caused by a fast train running through a tunnel. We were indeed on a tunnel that time. The fast running train was the immense quantity of molten lava rushing underground from one place to another. It therefore took Madam Pele exactly thirty minutes to rush her train to Kahuku—sixty miles underground.

The terrible news of the Kau disaster traveled fast; the little schooner that carried the Protestant minister to Honolulu hastened to spread the news far and wide. Our fright was at last over, for Madam had reached the sea and was enjoying her bath; she has apparently cooled off and does not trouble us any more. Of course, we feel shocks every now and then. Windows rattle and lamps stagger occasionally, but they do not mean anything serious. And even if they did, where will you run away from almighty God? We, therefore, try to make the best of it.

When His Majesty the King heard of our troubles, he at once chartered a schooner and had it loaded with clothes, food, lumber and provisions of all kinds. His Lordship, Bishop Maigret, immediately took passage for Kau, to study up our situation and administer relief as far as he was able. He told me to pull down all that remained of my Kamaoa chapel. I therefore had three chapels and one priest's house to rebuild. The King had sent his Minister to distribute the relief funds, and incidentally I may mention that I was chosen a member of the relief committee. This committee was only discharged after several months—or until the natives had another crop coming.

In winding up, I return sincere thanks to our good Lord for the strength and courage with which He blessed me during this affliction. I am satisfied that I tried to do my duty. *Deo Gratias!*¹

¹ We return our thanks to Mr. Joseph Dutton, Baldwin Home, Kalawao, Hawaii, S.I., for placing this matter at our disposal.

HENRY JAMES ANDERSON, M.D., LL.D.

By THOMAS F. MEEHAN, A.M.

No record of the work of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in New York would be complete which does not include an appreciation of the man who was, for many years, its local executive and during most of the last half of the nineteenth century the leading Catholic layman of the metropolis, Dr. Henry James Anderson, Knight Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, scientist and educator; one of the most distinguished converts won to the true Faith in New York during the century.

Born in New York, February 6, 1799, he died of cholera during a visit, on a scientific expedition, at Lahore, Northern Hindostan, October 19, 1875. His body was brought back some months later to his native city for burial. Perhaps no better idea of the man and of his character can be given than that epitomized in the official record then made by the Catholic Union and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the two organizations of laymen of which he had been the head during many years of his active, useful life.

The Catholic Union was a society organized to care for Catholic interests in general and specially to vindicate the rights of the Holy See and voice the indignation of American Catholics at its spoliation. At a meeting of members held in New York on January 13, 1876, this resolution was adopted:

"The Catholic Union of New York has learned with profound and sincere regret of the death of its late president, Henry James Anderson, LL.D., Knight Commander of St. Gregory the Great.

"That, distinguished in letters and eminent in the field of science, the illustrious deceased valued these attainments as nothing when weighed against a knowledge of the true Faith which he happily acquired after a long and searching examination in the very prime of his intellect.

"That, having entered the portals of that Church, he bowed

down, with all his learning, humbly before the altar and thenceforth 'looked from nature up to nature's God,' putting to shame those men whose knowledge is vanity, who seek by impious sophistries to pervert others, and, in the words of St. Peter, 'make merchandise of them' (II. Peter ii. 3).

"That the Catholics of New York remember with affection and acknowledge with gratitude the active interest our late president took in every movement having for its object the promotion of religion, the advancement of the Church or the amelioration of the condition of the poor or unfortunate, in which direction his zeal was continued unabated throughout all the years of his Catholic life.

"That the evidence of this zeal abounds everywhere in our midst. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul bears testimony to it, the Catholic Protectory records it, and this Union, which is mainly indebted to him for its organization and to his supervision as its president for its usefulness, hereby publicly acknowledges his valuable services and the patient, cordial and earnest cooperation which he bestowed in the prosecution of its work."

The Superior Council of New York of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul met at its office, No. 33 Warren street, on January 8, and the minutes make this record:

"The Superior Council of New York, uniting in feelings of sorrow with the other Catholic societies and associations in the city of New York, has heard with deep grief of the death of its late president, Henry James Anderson, LL.D., which took place at Lahore, India, on the 19th of October, 1875. Dr. Anderson left this, his native city, in the spring of last year with the purpose, as one of the pilgrims, of journeying with them in manifesting to the Holy Father in person the devotion of his children in these United States and then of traveling in the East. Though he was in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and for many years had been at times a sufferer from a painful disease, we might have reasonably expected from our friend a return from his travels and a prolongation of his life of honor and usefulness. Therefore it is that his death is to us a greater affliction.

"Dr. Anderson was a person of such varied accomplishments and so conspicuous in all the relations of life, social, literary, scientific and religious, that the expression of this sentiment by no one class of his former friends can do him full justice. It

becomes this Council, therefore, to limit itself to his relations to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. He was an active member of the Society from the time of his conversion to the Catholic Church; was afterwards for two years the president of the Conference of St. Francis Xavier; when the Particular Council was organized in 1856 he became its president and when this Superior Council was instituted in 1860, he was naturally named to hold the highest position within the circumspection.

"In these positions he remained until the time of his death. To his example, influence and labors the Society is much indebted, humanly speaking, for its great success and present prosperous condition. In its infancy he was a constant and zealous worker in its behalf; in later years, when his numerous engagements and increasing infirmities made it necessary for him to call upon his colleagues to relieve him to some extent, his interest in the Society and his active character in connection with it remained unchanged. Appreciating all his virtues and especially his zeal and services as a Vincentian, we, the members of the Superior Council, resolve:

"First, that we have heard with deep regret of the death of Dr. Henry James Anderson, who was to this Council a wise adviser and guide, a gentle and prudent presiding officer and to us individually a kind and sympathetic friend.

"Second, that we propose to ourselves and the members of the Society the character of Dr. Anderson as one most worthy of our tender remembrance and earliest imitation, a character which was marked by unaffected humility, sincere conscientiousness and unobtrusive charity."

Such was the judgment of the man arrived at by those most intimately associated with him during the latter half of his life. He made his studies at Columbia College, New York, where he graduated with the highest honors in 1818. He then took a course in medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons, obtaining his degree in 1823. He did not practice but devoted his time to mathematical investigation, to which his inclination led him. In 1825 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at Columbia College, a position he filled with honor and success for twenty-five years, during which period many men prominent afterward in public life were his pupils. He had remarkable linguistic accomplishments, being versed not only in the classics but many of the

modern languages of continental Europe and their dialects as well. He made numerous trips abroad and in 1848, while on a visit to the Holy Land, he acted as geologist to the United States Dead Sea Exploring Expedition, commanded by Lieutenant W. F. Lynch of the Navy. The results were collected and published by the United States Government under the title, "Geology of Lieut. Lynch's Expedition to the Dead Sea" and "Geological Reconnaissance of Part of the Holy Land."

In the following year, while in France, he met the astronomer Arago, and it was at this time he became a Catholic. He had been for many years a searcher for faith. He went about his quest in the careful, systematic way characteristic of the bent of his exact, mathematical mind. He examined critically the teachings and beliefs of each sect and tried to reduce faith to a mathematical formula, reached rationally by syllogistic analysis. But the conclusion did not satisfy his keen intellect. Then, according to the story told by his old pupil and life long friend, Abram S. Hewitt, to whom he had confided his experience, he made up his mind that the Catholic Church was the only logical spiritual haven and the infallible and divinely inspired repository of the Truth to which all his investigations pointed. Having reached this certainty, he hesitated no longer. He at once sought admission into the Church and, having been enrolled among her children, the simplicity and loyalty of his faith was ever after one of his most distinguished characteristics. He accepted implicitly all the teachings of Catholicity without cavil, question or contradiction.

In 1851 he was elected a trustee of Columbia College and, having held for twenty-five years its chair of mathematics and astronomy, he resigned this position and was named the Emeritus Professor of these branches so as to retain his association with the institution. He then went abroad in a vain search for health for his devoted wife. His intimate connection with the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Catholic Union has been already noted. It may be said that the inception of the great New York Catholic Protectory for the care of dependent and neglected children, thousands of whom, before its institution,

had been led away from the Church by proselytizing non-Catholic organizations, was due to his zeal and energy.

In 1859, when the Rev. William Clowry was directed to establish the new parish of St. Gabriel, Dr. Anderson donated eight lots in East Thirty-seventh Street, valued at \$25,000, as a site for the proposed church. In October of the same year he gave the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, whose devoted friend he was, \$16,000 to purchase the old Prime estate, on the East River at Ninetieth Street, where their present convent is located. As a recognition of his efforts here and in other philanthropic and charitable enterprises the Pope sent him the decoration of a Knight of St. Gregory the Great. In 1874 he joined the first American Pilgrimage to Rome and Lourdes which left New York May 16, and when it disbanded late in June he went to Australia to observe at his own expense the transit of Venus. On his homeward journey by way of India, where he accomplished the ascent of one of the Himalaya peaks, he was, soon after reaching Lahore, stricken with the malignant disease that proved fatal. His adopted daughter, who was his companion on the trip, brought his body back to New York, where it arrived on January 16, 1876. Funeral services took place at St. Patrick's Cathedral on January 19, attended by the largest and most notable gathering that up to that time had ever been present in the Cathedral at the funeral of a layman.

The Right Rev. M. A. Corrigan, Bishop of Newark, N. J., was the celebrant of the Mass, His Eminence Cardinal McCloskey presiding. The pall-bearers were ex-Governor John A. Dix, F. A. P. Barnard, president of Columbia College, Professor Henry Drisler, the dean of its faculty; William O'Brien, James Lynch, Jeremiah Devlin, Louis B. Binsse, and Henry L. Hoguet. Many distinguished citizens of all denominations were present. The sermon was preached by Cardinal McCloskey in the course of which he said:

"In the outside world the name of Dr. Anderson is naturally associated with that of the accomplished scholar, the eminent scientist, the genial friend, the lover of his country and the benefactor of his kind. But here we do not care to speak of

these qualities because they all sleep with him in the grave. We prefer to speak of those qualities of heart and mind which have not died with him, but which shine more brightly now and through the merits of which he has won an everlasting crown. His virtues were very many. It is safe to say that one thing influenced his life, especially since he was received into the Catholic Church, and that was his earnest, sincere Catholic Christianity. Hardly one of her children accepted more fully every truth and doctrine or listened with more docility to all her teachings, or strove more faithfully to live up to her standard. With all this earnest faith he was most tolerant to all. I do not know that I ever heard him say a harsh, reproachful word. He was seldom known to speak of faults; he preferred silence to fault-findings. His faith was that of the Scriptures animated by charity. He was not puffed up by all his learning. I remember to have heard from the lips of a distinguished Oxford scholar that he never met a man of greater learning tempered with such humility. He was benevolent to a great degree, especially to the poor. He was president of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, president of the Catholic Union and president of the Catholic Protectory, and he gave his time to these institutions with as much readiness and zeal as though he was laboring for his own personal aggrandizement. He was a great favorite with the Holy Father who was always pleased to see him. On what proved to be his last journey, he saw the Holy Father twice. He went to Rome as a pilgrim of science. He has gone and has left a void in the Church and in society. How much we feel his loss, witness this vast concourse, come to pay him the tribute of their sorrow. He has left the sweet memory of his merits, a legacy more valuable than precious gems, and in parting we may say, 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for their works shall follow them.' "

Dr. Anderson had a residence at Fort Lee, N. J., where he was a generous benefactor to the parish of the Madonna. He gave the land on which the church was built about 1858 and also very materially aided in the construction of the edifice. His remains were buried in a vault under the church. In October, 1879, his old home nearby on the Palisades, overlooking the Hudson, was purchased by the School Sisters of Notre Dame for their convent in connection with the Institute of the Holy Angels which they established there. None of Dr. Anderson's family

followed his example in accepting the Catholic Faith. In addition to the geological works above cited and published by United States Government, his principal writings were tributions to the "New York Quarterly Review" and to mathematical journals.

Dr. Anderson married the daughter of the famous Italian poet Lorenzo Da Ponte, who wrote the librettos for Mozart's "Don Giovanni" and "Le Nozze di Figaro." Da Ponte was the son of a Jew leather dealer named Jeremiah Conegli and his wife Rachel Pincherie. His own name was Emmanuele. When he was fourteen years old the whole family became Catholics and were baptized, August 20, 1763, in the Cathedral of Ceneda, Italy. The Bishop of that See, observing the talents of the lad, gave him his own name and undertook his education at the local seminary where he remained five years. He then went to Venice and afterwards to Treviso where he taught rhetoric in the University. Political troubles drove him to Germany and thence to Vienna. Here he met Mozart and joined forces with him in producing the immortal operas. As difficulties forced him to leave for London. Having married an Englishwoman, he had a troubled career there of a couple of years which ended in his emigration to New York where he arrived June 4, 1805 (Marchesan, "Della Vita e delle Opere di Lorenzo da Ponte," Treviso, 1900).

In this city he tried his fortune as a teacher of the Italian language and literature. He was the first American instructor and commentator on "The Divine Comedy." He enjoyed the friendship of many people of refinement and social standing and was made professor of Italian literature at Columbia College, of which his future son-in-law was one of the faculty. He died at No. 91 Spring street, August 17, 1838, and was buried in the old Catholic cemetery in Eleventh Street. A recent investigation showed that the grave was never marked and is not now to be located.

Dr. Anderson's children were Edward, Henry, and Ellery Anderson. The latter was a well-known member of the Bar and a prominent Democratic politician.





REV. P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

with which they embraced my missionary crucifix, making, at the same time, the most solemn invocations to Heaven, when I touched upon those points of our holy Faith. I also spoke to them of the Illustrious Head of the Church, Pio Nono (whose medal I presented to them), and of the Black-gowns whom he, in the name of the Great Invisible Chief, sent to enlighten all the nations of the earth.

I found these poor children of the desert deeply plunged into a shocking state of moral degradation. In their wars, which are frequent, they commit the most ferocious cruelties; in the depredations which they almost daily inflict upon the neighboring tribes, every feeling of humanity seems to have been stifled within their breasts, and their moral conduct is most depraved. Oh! what barbarous superstition, what ignorance and degradation among these creatures formed to the image of God! The greatest efforts of human power to raise those poor benighted savages from their fallen condition are but the struggles of an infant. I do not exaggerate in saying that they have only the forms of men. But may we not hope that the divine image of the Creator, now alas! almost entirely obliterated, will recover its original, its pristine beauty, under the all-powerful hand of that Being who presided at their creation and who purchased them with the price of His Precious Blood. With the assistance of Heaven, aided by your good prayers, by those of your family, and of your numerous pious friends, may we not expect for these unhappy barbarians, who have shown so much respect and esteem for a poor priest, merely on account of his character, that they will not resist the grace of God, and may we not expect to find them cheerfully joining the standard of our divine Master, a happy period which forms the subject of their most ardent wishes and longing desires?

I have, however, well grounded fears regarding the obstacles which we shall meet in endeavoring to establish our holy Faith among them. These obstacles will, I am satisfied, prove more numerous and more difficult than what we have encountered west of the Rocky Mountains; but on our part

there must in consequence be more courage, more ardent prayer, greater patience and perseverance.

If nothing occurs to frustrate the designs of our Superiors, especially if we obtain the means of carrying these designs into effect, I feel great pleasure in announcing to you that, towards the end of April or in the beginning of May, two missions will be commenced; one among the Sioux of the Upper Missouri, numbering thirty thousand souls, the other among the Blackfeet, consisting of about twelve thousand. These inhabit the plains that separate the Missouri and its upper northern tributaries, from the south branch of the Saskatchewan extending as far as the Rocky Mountains, and are the next neighbors, eastward, of the Flat-heads and Koetenays.

The immense good to be accomplished in these distant countries, in saving souls for God and in rendering man more happy upon earth even from a temporal point of view, is a work truly grand and noble. But to realize these noble designs so consoling to religion and humanity we require men and means. Europe, convulsed to its very centre, in her delirium persecutes and drives out the anointed ministers of God, who are thus compelled to seek refuge in this more sacred land of true liberty. To the folly of Europe then are we indebted for an unusual number of evangelical laborers, especially priests. But unfortunately for the foreign missions this assistance is rendered almost unavailable in consequence of those senseless, impious, unjust persecutions in the old world, which have cut off almost completely our last resource, in depriving us of the alms which the Association of the Faith at Lyons was yearly accustomed to extend to us, in order to second our efforts in evangelizing the different Indian tribes. We must then, of course, look elsewhere—make an appeal to the Bishops of the United States, who confided these Indians to our care. A thousand blessings upon you, dear Madame, for the timely aid you have procured; for means are necessary to defray the expenses of these long journeys, and to support thirty missionaries already engaged in the different Indian “Reductions.” To supply these wants is, however, but a preliminary step towards the com-



KAMIAKIN, CHIEF OF THE JACOMANS.



INDIANS OF MISSOURI WITH THEIR INTERPRETERS.

mening and continuing of other missions. It is not sufficient to sow the seed of the Divine word; to make it durable and bring forth fruit in due season it must be diligently cultivated. If after having commenced the conversion of the wandering tribes we are, from want of means, compelled to abandon them, is it not painful to think of the inevitable consequence, namely, that these poor nomadic people of America will return to their former barbarous condition? To place these Reductions upon a proper footing, we must check the wandering habits of the savages, we must convert the wandering lodges into permanent dwellings; but to effect this desirable end we require workmen and utensils to construct churches and erect houses; and still the question recurs, where are the means? We will do what we can—Providence, I trust, will not fail us.

The conversion of these savages is, of course, principally due to the mercy of God, and although the missionary employed in this charitable work may be regarded as the instrument of Divine mercy, yet in the eyes of Faith those who contribute towards it may also be considered as the spiritual fathers and mothers of the poor souls whom they evangelize, if not by their words at least by their prayers and the alms bestowed upon these poor pagans. In thus speaking of the happy results of our missions among the aborigines, I beg of you to accept my words as a mark of the deeply felt gratitude I owe you for the liberal manner in which you have for years contributed towards this success. It is indeed a consoling reflection that the sacrifices which we have made here on earth are not without fruit; but a recompense far greater, will, I trust, await us in the life to come.

Please to remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer, and to Miss Rosine, with my best wishes for a happy New Year, replenished with all the blessings of heaven, both spiritual and corporal.

Be kind enough to let me know, on whom and at what time I may draw for the money concerning which you had the goodness to write to me.

Rev. Father Van de Velde has been appointed Bishop of Chicago, Illinois, and will be consecrated in St. Louis on the 14th of February next.

I remain, with the most profound respect and esteem,

Madame,

Your very humble and obedient servant
in Christ,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P. S.—I send a copy of this letter, with only the initial of your name, to the Rev. Ch. White, Editor of the *Catholic Magazine*, of Baltimore, with permission to take some extracts out of it for his paper. Long ago I promised to send him some information concerning the Indians, and to make use of his paper for future publications of our missions.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Feb. 22, 1849.

MADAME:

I hasten to reply to your letter of the 22nd of January which was here awaiting my return from St. Charles. I was glad to know that you were pleased with my small pledge of gratitude for your many kindnesses. Prayer is the only thing I have to offer to my benefactors. Let me hope that God will not wait for the future life alone to reward your charity, but that He will also on earth remember your zeal for His eternal glory. I thank you again for your donation; I can make immediate use of it for the benefit of many souls. The amount will reach us at the most opportune time; as besides the two missions that you know about we are about to open a new one among the Winnebagos, who are in the diocese of Dubuque. Very likely I will soon go to see these Indians and select a place where we may establish a first settlement. There is great urgency for this latest mission as the Presbyterians are striving to get in ahead. I trust, Madame, that God will, as you say, come to our assistance in filling the place left vacant by the Rev. Father Van de Velde. We shall have need of a few good missionaries. The persecution in Europe will be the means of supplying them.

The consecration of the Rev. Father Van de Velde took place on the 11th of the present month, in our church of St. Francis Xavier. As the ceremony was one of the most imposing that has ever taken place in Missouri, you will, I fancy, be pleased to hear some description of it. I shall try to meet your desire. It had been rumored for two weeks that St. Francis Xavier's was to be the scene of a great event. Many of the Brothers were set to work to decorate the house of God. All was ready on the Saturday. The people were anxious for the following day. The day of joy mingled with tears finally came. The services were to begin at half past nine; but long before nine the broad aisles of our church were filled with people of all denominations. The ceremony began with a procession through the street which runs beside our buildings. One would need to be witness of this religious procession to appreciate its magnificent and edifying character. Our worthy Archbishop was at the head, preceded by his cross-bearer. Three Bishops in pontifical robes followed him. In the centre was he upon whom all eyes were turned, Rev. Father Van de Velde, already partly robed in his pontifical vestments. Then came priests in chasubles, and deacons, sub-deacons, those in minor orders, those tonsured and other seminarians in dalmatics or surplices. On either side was a long row of people mainly composed of pious Catholics. The whole scene was most inspiring, and a profound silence reigned. The streets and sidewalks were filled with a dense crowd of Protestants who were struck dumb with wonder at the grandeur and beauty of the ceremonies of our holy religion. The regularity of movement, the general intensity of feeling, the stately progress of the procession, the serious music, all spoke to the heart of everyone in terms that I would not attempt to describe. The crowd in the church was so great that the procession was compelled to enter in single file, and in that manner advanced to the steps of the sanctuary.

Mass and the consecration ceremonial began amidst the sound of musical instruments and of trained voices which serve so effectively to enhance the beauty of our religious

services. The officiating Archbishop is seated at one side of the sanctuary; on the opposite side is the venerable Bishop Spalding, who is to address this vast congregation. Two Bishops, Bishop Miles and Bishop Loras, attended the Archbishop during the consecration. The future Archbishop of Chicago was kneeling in the centre of the sanctuary. How solemn, decorous, and impressive was the spectacle! Everyone was in tears. Protestants as well as Catholics vied with each other in respectful attention as they beheld the grandeur of our religious ceremonies.

Bishop Spalding, a man of noble presence, addressed this mixed assemblage in tones of conviction and apostolic earnestness, and with a suavity that is the natural outcome of his well-known piety. His arguments were so convincing that a certain educated Protestant did not hesitate to declare on leaving the church that he had never before been so impressed with the truth of our religion. The same solemn dignity prevailed until the end, when at length Rev. Father Van de Velde was seen, robed in the pontifical vestments, giving his blessing to all the people without distinction. He was deeply moved and very many of the audience, who had known him for years, were sobbing during the pontifical blessing which he conferred after the Archbishop. At the close of the Mass the procession was again formed, with a Bishop added to their number, and they returned to the University.

Rev. Ch. White, editor of the *Catholic Magazine*, requested an account of my latest mission, so I have sent him my little diary.

As to the matter, Madame, to which you refer towards the close of your letter, I believe that you did all you could, and perhaps more than was required. Almighty God will reward you. As to the rest leave it to divine Providence and hope for the best. Kindly remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine and commend me to their prayers. Please also return thanks for me to the estimable lady whose prayers you requested for our missions. We too in turn shall pray for her good intentions.

I have the honor to be, Madame,
Yours respectfully,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, Dec. 31, 1849.

MADAME:

I have just received your esteemed letter of the 13th inst. conveying kind wishes for myself and a message of your great charity for the poor Indians. I will thank you in their name for the contribution which you send them. Their benefactress shall have my prayers and many others that I shall induce the Indians to offer. My 1850 New Year's gift, which I trust you will accept for yourself and your dear family, will be this: that I shall continue to offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for your intention every Friday and Saturday in the year. I trust that I shall be able next spring to tell them in person of your benefactions and that they, on their part, will offer up many prayers to Heaven for you. It is likely that some one will visit them about that time; yet I apprehend that we shall not have Fathers enough to fill the wants of these missions. Some new missionaries of the Society of Jesus will be among the number. We also learn that a French priest is about to be appointed Vicar Apostolic for all the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains. I have become thoroughly convinced by my visit last year to the tribes of the Sioux, and my recent mission among the Osages and Pottowatomies, that a great amount of good can be done with God's blessing among the poor unfortunate Indians. The Pottowatomies number about 2,000 ardent Christians. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart have a fine school at the mission and it is quite a success. There is also a boys' school under the care of our Fathers; a suitable church has been built, and at the time of my visit materials were being got ready for the erection of two others. The Osages are not so devout as the Pottowatomies. This mission, though young,

promises an abundant harvest. The nuns of Loretto have been very successful with their school; it is well attended, as is also the boys' school. Two of our Fathers are employed constantly in teaching the adults, who seem to take a lively interest in the instruction. This wonderful interest displayed by the Indians, and their eagerness to learn the word of God may seem astonishing and almost incredible for people who are supposed to be the very personification of intellectual and moral wretchedness. This opinion has frequently been stated in my hearing. The matter is very easily explained; for we must remember that "the Spirit of the Lord breathes where He wills," and that His light and grace are more likely to penetrate the hearts of those who are wicked through ignorance than those of the vain and contentious. In any case cannot that same Holy Spirit which compelled the most rebellious to cry out with St. Paul, "Lord what would you that I do," soften the most hardened hearts, inflame the most indifferent, and bring peace, justice, and happiness where before there were but sin, disturbance, and chaos? Last September and October I had the good fortune to detect again the hand of God in the consoling results of the missions to the Pottowatomies and Osages. Only two days ago I received renewed and urgent invitations from the Black-feet, the Crows, the Sioux, even from the Comanches who are anxiously awaiting the arrival of missionaries. Truly they offer a vast and promising field for the generous and devoted husbandman who shall come to cultivate it in the sweat of his brow and to prepare it to receive the heavenly dew. Could our Lord refuse His grace and help to him who gives up all the attractions of life to encounter every privation for the purpose of instructing the poor Indian in the salutary and encouraging truth of the Gospel? When I consider the expectations I have for the tribes of the West and Northwest of this country, I cannot help praising the goodness and mercy of my Redeemer and trembling at the thought of the terrible penalties that proceed from His Justice. While Europe, harassed by the persistent attacks of organized irreligion and of a waywardness of mind that cannot be bridled, seems to have no longer strength

and energy except for the shaking off of the Divine yoke which the Blood of Jesus Christ has made so light and so pleasing, the poor dweller of the desert raises his supplication to heaven, asking in all the sincerity of his heart, to be made acquainted with the true Faith, to be guided into those paths which lead to true happiness. Whilst in the very midst of Catholicity many priests of God have given way under the tyrannical oppression, the Providence of God, whose ways are inscrutable, is preparing, unnoticed, for them the vast plains of a distant continent. It is here that the divine Lord will select new followers whose plain and guileless hearts will give forth only words of gratitude and whose life will be patterned after that meek and humble existence of which only the house of Nazareth betokens the glory and perfection.

I am highly delighted to learn that your dear family is well, although exception has to be made for Miss Rosine. I shall certainly pray for her, and ask the prayers of others, to the end that Almighty God may relieve her and preserve her for her tender and loving mother. The New Year is approaching; I trust it may be for you one of happiness, and be followed by others equally happy. May God keep you for many years yet at the head of your dear family, and may your dear children long continue to share with you the happiness that reigns in the home of a family entirely devoted to the service of God. Kindly present my best regards to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and to Miss Rosine and commend me to their prayers.

As Mr. Pise lives in your neighborhood may I ask you, Madame, to present him my regards? I was much pleased to learn the news which you gave me concerning him; I trust our Lord will grant him every aid in his worthy undertaking.

Adieu; a thousand thanks for the gifts which you send to your godchildren.

I have the honor to be, Madame, your very humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

MME. SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, January 20, 1851.

MME. SOPHIE PARMENTIER,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

On returning from Louisiana, whither I was called on business of the mission, I found news of you here, together with a gift for the Indians. Beside your letter and its contents lay another letter, one from the Rev. Father Duerinck, Superior of St. Mary's mission among the Pottowatomies. This excellent Father asked me if I could get \$50.00 for him, to help him build a small log church for the Kansas Indians. So you see side by side with the request was found the reply. You will then, Madame, have a large share in that church which is going to be built for these neophytes. I specially requested the Rev. Father to accord you a large share in all their prayers, and in those which will be offered up in this house, raised in the midst of a new people who have been long begging for missionary priests.

In relation to the prayers and intentions for which you asked me, I would say that I have often forestalled your desires, and every day in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass I make a particular memento for your happiness and that of your dear family. It is a duty of gratitude which your benefactions to the Indians have placed upon me and which I take pleasure in remembering. I trust our Lord will pay you back a hundred-fold for all that you have done for the missions which justly consider you as one of their chief benefactresses. Rev. Father Miège who was appointed Vicar Apostolic to the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains, has declined the appointment. This will delay still further the progress of religion among those poor people. I still retain the hope of returning among the Indians. The occupation which I at present have, and from which I expect soon to be relieved, is the only thing that prevents me from starting on my journey to my children of the plains. Meanwhile, I continue looking after their needs.

The schools of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and of the Loretto nuns among the Pottowatomies and Osages, as well as

our own schools, are getting along very well. But I have received bad news from the Pends d'Oreilles, to the west of the Rocky Mountains, where I had established a mission in 1844. I learn that all the head Indians of that tribe have been killed by certain hostile bands belonging to the Black-feet nation.

I will close by tendering you my sincere wishes for a happy and prosperous New Year, full of all the blessings of Heaven, for you, Madame, for Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and for Miss Rosine. I particularly commend myself to your kind prayers.

I am, Madame, with great respect your humble and devoted servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, May 17, 1851.

MADAME:

I am unwilling to leave St. Louis without sending you a few lines, and thus fulfilling a duty of gratitude which I owe you on so many accounts. For years past you have helped our Indian missions, spiritually with your prayers, and materially by your alms. I am glad to be able to tell you that your prayers, the prayers of your children and those which you have obtained elsewhere for the conversion of the Indians, and in which many persons have shared, have been heard by Our Lord. Probably you have already learned through the newspapers that Very Rev. Father Miège, S.J., has been consecrated at St. Louis as Vicar Apostolic for all the vast Indian territory to the east of the Rocky Mountains. A more worthy priest as to ability and virtue could not have been found, and I thank Almighty God in all the sincerity of my heart. A happier time, I expect, will now begin in that vast wilderness where the devil has reigned for centuries.

Mgr. Miège leaves to-morrow, accompanied by Rev. Father Ponziglione of Turin and two lay-brothers. He will go to St. Mary's mission among the Pottowatomies, where he will meet and confirm a pious multitude of about 2,000 Christians.

From there he will proceed to the mission of St. Francis Hieronymus, among the Osages, where there are about eight hundred converts. Most of this tribe are still pagan, but yet greatly devoted to our missionaries, and it is confidently expected that they will one day rally beneath the banner of our divine Lord. Mgr. Miège contemplates visiting other unconverted tribes, and in September next he will go to Fort Laramie, where there is to be a general reunion of the various Indian nations, under the auspices of the United States government agents. It is hoped that the conference will result in a cordial and lasting peace between the white people and the Indians. The Bishop's presence will doubtless contribute to its success.

With the same object in view, Rev. Father Baltus and I will leave St. Louis at the end of this month in the Fur company's steamer which ascends the Missouri beyond the mouth of the Yellowstone River, a distance of over two thousand miles. We shall visit all the tribes along the banks, to encourage them; to announce the coming arrival of their Black-robe chieftain (the Bishop); to induce them to keep strictly in the right path in which they promised me to proceed when I visited them in 1848. We shall try, with the help of the Lord, to do everything possible for these poor unfortunate savages. Then we expect to meet the Bishop about the beginning of September at Fort Laramie, and participate in the grand council. If the weather permits I will continue my trip with Father Baltus towards Oregon, and I will cross the mountains next November.

You will see, then, Madame, from the little description which I have just hastily sketched, that the future of the Indians becomes more promising. The labor of the missionaries will be proportionately great. Trials and privations will doubtless accompany these extensive journeys, and it is for this reason that I would again ask you before my departure for the help of your pious prayers, for those of Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine. Commend us also to the kind remembrances of our good friend Mr. Pise, both for the success of the missionaries and the conversion of the Indians. You will thus add another claim to our gratitude, and on our part we shall never forget

you in our prayers. If we have a chance we shall try from time to time to let you know how we are getting along. My regards to all the family. I have the honor to be, Madame, with sincere respect,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

MME. SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, January 29, 1852.

MADAME:

On my return to St. Louis from Ohio and Kentucky where I spent the past months I find your esteemed letter of the 8th inst., and I am very much indebted to you for it. I trust, Madame, that Heaven will reward you and shower its graces and blessings upon you in return for your charitable remembrance of the poor Indians. Your gift will soon reach them. Be assured that they will not cease praying for your happiness and that of your dear children. I believe that I told you in my last letter of the saintly death of Rev. Father Hocken, after fifteen years of labor for the conversion of the Indian tribes, especially of the Pottowatomies. Now our missions have just suffered another great loss in the death of Rev. Father Bax, the apostle of the Osages, who fell a victim to his unselfish devotion in the midst of his work, after having spent many months day and night caring for the sick, instructing and baptizing them and soothing their last hours of life. Fifteen hundred Indians, writes Monsignor Miège, perished in a brief space of time, and among them more than six hundred little children who had had the glory of being born again in the holy waters of Baptism at the hands of their missionary Father. "Heaven appears to demand the little we accomplish in these sections. It summons to itself all our little children. May its holy will be done." These were the last words which Rev. Father Bax wrote to me a few days before he died.

Death has taken from us our most devoted and pious neophytes among the Pottowatomies, and it seems to single them out, writes the missionary, Father Gailard. Over four hundred of those I baptized in my mission among the Indians in 1851 have since died. The Lord consoles those whom he punishes and afflicts. To-day those poor unfortunate families, those almost forsaken tribes, roaming in the wilderness, have numberless little angels and pleaders in Heaven, who will never cease imploring aid for them at the throne of the Most High.

According to the news which I have lately received from the missions east and west of the Rocky Mountains there is reason for consolation, and the good work is constantly spreading among the tribes.

Allow me, Madame, again to commend them to your kind prayers, and to those of Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine; I will venture also to ask for myself a small place in your pious thoughts. Assuring you that I offer up a special prayer every day at the altar for you and your children, and that I commend to our Lord all your good resolutions and intentions, I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours respectfully,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P. S.—Rev. Father Murphy desires to be remembered to Mme. Bayer, his old acquaintance at St. Paul.

MME. SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, May 8, 1852.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Pax Christi.

MADAME:

Your esteemed letter of April 23rd has come to hand with your kind gift for our dear Indians. I thank you

on their behalf. I immediately used it for the benefit of the mission of the Osages who are in great need and whose church has to be repaired and enlarged. I am very sorry to learn of the bodily suffering which you have endured for some time past; but I am glad to know that you are somewhat better and I trust that our Lord will soon restore you to good health for the comfort of your children and that of all the poor people you are constantly assisting. I wrote to the Superior of our missions on receiving your letter, in order to request for you their special prayers and holy Masses and likewise the prayers of all the good Indians who still merit the approbation of their Reverend Pastors. I shall likewise add my own humble and poor prayers, and every Friday and Saturday I shall offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar for you and your intentions. I have just written to the Very Rev. Mgr. Miège, Vicar Apostolic of Indian Territory, who is at present in Baltimore taking part in the general council of the Bishops, to ask him to call on you if he goes to New York. I am sure that you will be delighted to know him and that you will be greatly edified by all that he will relate to you about the Indians and the prosperous condition of their schools. I wish in a very special way to commend to your kind prayers the Indians I visited last summer. There are many difficulties in the way of establishing our holy religion in that section. The Indians there are steeped in vice and are in great wretchedness. Still they like the Fathers and listen to them with attention. I firmly believe that under the guidance of a few zealous missionaries they would become good and devoted Christians, full of love for the glory of God and the success of His holy law on earth. They have been for years most desirous of having missions established among them and this is the great point that I would recommend to your prayers. "The harvest is great, but the laborers are few, beg then the Lord of the harvest to send laborers for His harvest" (St. Matt., C. ix, V. 37-38). During my last visit and mission among the Indians to the east of the Rocky Mountains and at the outset of which Rev. Father Hocken died, victim of his charity, I found several tribes suffering from various diseases: cholera

and smallpox especially had been raging. My arrival was most timely, for I had the happiness of regenerating many with the holy waters of Baptism. The following is a summary: At the various forts and trading-posts (in the upper territory of the Missouri) and their vicinity, during the months of June and July, I baptized three hundred and ninety-two persons; during the following September I baptized two hundred and thirty-nine little children among the great tribe of the Ogallallas, who belong to the Sioux nation. The number of baptisms among the Rapahoes was three hundred and five; among the Cheyennes the number of children baptized was two hundred and fifty-three; two hundred and eighty young children were baptized among the Brulés, and Sioux Osages. In the little camp of a Dakota chief called Dirty Bear, the number of baptisms reached sixty-one. On the field of the great Indian council and various places on the La Platte I baptized fifty-six half-breeds. During the past winter a large number of these children, I am informed, died in consequence of the diseases which I have mentioned above; so that my visit beforehand was most providential. God grant that these tribes may soon be provided with spiritual assistance.

Kindly remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and to Miss Rosine. I have the honor to be, Madame,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P. S.—As you no doubt occasionally meet Rev. Dr. Pise, please also remember me to him.

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE, BARDSTOWN, KY.,

May 16, 1855.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

MOST WORTHY MADAME:

On account of my absence from St. Louis your kind letter of the 1st inst. did not reach me here until the day before.

yesterday. I came as companion to our Very Rev. Father Provincial who is to participate in the first Provincial Council at Cincinnati. I thank you very sincerely for your kind remembrance and for your great charity on behalf of our Indian missions. Heaven will take good note of it, Madame, and be assured that we on our part shall never cease to offer our poor prayers to the Lord for your happiness and the happiness of your dear family. I offer a special intention for you at the altar every day. This duty of gratitude is most pleasing to me, and I intend to keep it up faithfully as long as I live. It will not be necessary for me to solicit your prayers for my poor savages, who for so many years past have had the benefit of your charity. It is hard to look out over the immense wilderness which extends to the Rocky Mountains and beyond them without lamenting the condition of the many large tribes who are still wandering there almost in despair of ever securing spiritual assistance. The field is by no means without promise; it has been well explored by Rev. Fathers Hocken and Point, by Rev. Fathers Bellecourt and Ravaux; and I had the happiness of traveling through there myself on different occasions almost from end to end. All agree in declaring that they were received by the Indians everywhere with great consideration, and that the latter showed much interest in favor of our holy religion. Several thousand children and many adults have already been baptized, especially among the Black-feet, Crows, Sioux and the other tribes of Upper Missouri. Men and means have been wanting up to the present time for making permanent settlements. Every year the chiefs renew their requests, begging me to come back among them; and I, for my part, would be most happy to comply with their requests if my Superiors approved of it. Last year Mgr. Lamy, Bishop of Santa Fé, obtained permission from our Very Rev. Father General to take me with him among the Indians of his vast diocese, who number about ten thousand Catholics. My trip was unavoidably delayed owing to the great scarcity of priests in our Missouri province. If it be God's will, I am willing to spend the rest of my days among those poor and forsaken beings. We

must continue ardently to beg the Master of the Vineyard to send his laborers into this immense territory.

I learned by a letter which I received about two months ago from the Rocky Mountains, that the Indians at our various missions in Oregon continue to give great consolation to the missionary Fathers, by their earnestness and devotion in the holy practices of our religion. Father Joset writes me as follows: "I hope that the Sacrament of Confirmation which they have just received will impart greater firmness to their good resolutions. Upon the arrival of Bishop Blanchet of Nesqually, whose coming had been announced but a few hours before (too late consequently to assemble more than half the number of neophytes) he gave Confirmation to six hundred persons. He was delighted with our missions and with our neophytes." The conversions to the true faith are most gratifying considering the limited number of our Fathers. Rev. Father Joset tells me that in the single mission of St. Paul at Chaudière Falls, he had one hundred and sixty-three conversions in the course of the year. He tells me also that Lieutenant Mullan of the United States Army, by order of the Governor of Washington Territory, has been to see the Flatheads and all our other missions; that he was much pleased with the model behavior of all our Indians, and that he seems to be resolved to espouse their cause as far as he can before the government. Governor Stevens himself, in his latest report to the President of the United States, speaks of our Indians with the greatest kindness and begs the government to assist and encourage them. "They are," he adds, "the best Indians of the mountains and the plains; loyal, brave and tractable; all they need is encouragement to become good citizens. They are Christians, and we are informed that they practice Christianity."

A little statistical sketch of the condition of our holy religion at St. Louis will no doubt afford you pleasure. It is this: upon the arrival of our small colony of Belgian missionaries at St. Louis in 1823, there were between three and four thousand inhabitants with one poor church and two small schools. To-day its population exceeds one hundred thousand

souls, of whom certainly fifty thousand are Catholics. It possesses a fine cathedral and twelve other churches; a seminary for the secular clergy, a fine large hospital under the care of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, an excellent missionary house of the Lazarists, a college of our society having one hundred and fifty boarders, one hundred and twenty half boarders and day scholars, with from three to four hundred children in the free school attached to the college. There is a pay-school for boys of good family, under the direction of the Christian Brothers. The Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the Visitation Sisters and the Ursulines also have fine large establishments for young ladies. There are five orphan asylums for both sexes, accommodating more than five hundred children, and, in addition, a foundling asylum. There is a home for those who have been wayward and for young girls in peril. These houses are supported chiefly by charity and by the voluntary offerings of the faithful. There are eleven or twelve schools for boys and girls, in charge of religious orders of men and women. All the churches at St. Louis are well attended, yet they do not suffice for the number of the faithful. The devotion of the laity is equal to the zeal of their pastors; there is complete unity and accord between the secular and regular clergy under the fatherly administration of our most worthy Archbishop; all of which contributes much to the prosperity of our holy religion. Thus religion keeps step with the wonderful and rapid growth of our thriving city. I will give you some details as to what goes on to my personal knowledge in one particular church, that of St. Francis Xavier, which is attached to our college. During the past year there were more than fifty thousand communions. Every year the conversions to our religion number from sixty to eighty. The two sodalities of the Blessed Virgin have more than four hundred members belonging to all classes of society; lawyers, physicians, bankers, merchants, etc.; all approach the holy table in a body once a month and wear the miraculous medal of Our Lady. The arch-confraternity of the Blessed Virgin numbers between five and six thousand members. The arch-confraternity of the Sacred Heart numbers

more than two thousand active members. The Sunday School attached to the church is attended by about one thousand children.

Kindly remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine. The Very Rev. Father Provincial, Father Murphy, begs me to offer his respects to you and your dear family. Receive the assurance of the respectful consideration with which I am, dear Madame, your humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER COLLEGE, CINCINNATI,

Feb. 1, 1856.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR MADAME:

I have just received your excellent letter of January 14th, and I thank you very sincerely for your great charity and kindness in our regard. I do not forget the promise I made you. I often offer the most Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for your welfare and that of your dear family. Above all now, at the beginning of the new year, I beg our Lord to bestow the abundance of His blessings upon you. It affords me much pleasure to learn that Miss Rosine's health has improved, and I trust that this improvement will be lasting. Kindly remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Bayer. I can, I believe, announce to you that about the middle of the present month I shall have the honor and pleasure of calling to pay my respects to you in person. I take advantage of the opportunity presented to me by Very Rev. Father Murphy, our superior, who intends to visit his brethren in New York and Fordham. He asks me to remember him to all the family, especially Mrs. Bayer whom he knew very well. The Rev. Father Provincial is at present visiting our various houses in Kentucky and Ohio; I am ac-

accompanying him and that is why your letter took so long to reach me, and why my acknowledgment has been delayed.

Knowing the great interest which you have in the welfare of the Indians, I take the liberty of relating to you some details which I have lately received from our Rocky Mountain missions. Rev. Father Adrian Hocken writes me that in October last he came east of the Rocky Mountains together with the Christian tribes, the Flatheads, the Pends d'Oreilles and the Koetenays, at the formal request of Governor Stevens of Washington Territory, in order to take part in the conclusion of a treaty and of a great peace conference held by order of the Government. This Governor shows the greatest kindness towards the Catholic missionaries, and in all his official communications to the President of the United States he seems to take an active interest in endorsing their exertions for the material betterment of all the Indians confided to their care.

The Black-feet, Crows, Flatheads, Pends d'Oreilles, Koetenays and many chiefs of other tribes took part in this council. It is to be hoped that the Government will ratify the provisions of the new treaty. The Indians promise on their part to remain at peace with the whites; and the Government promises to assist them by appropriations for the instruction of their children, and by supplies of farming implements, in order to encourage them to give up their wandering life, and to settle down in some suitable place on their own land. Let us hope that the council will succeed in attaining its object. Rev. Father Hocken tells me that the Indians of all our missions to the west of the Rocky Mountains, especially the Flatheads, Pends d'Oreilles, the Cœurs d'Alenes, the Koetenays, the Arcs-a-plats, the people from the Chaudière Falls or Schuyelpies continue to afford much satisfaction to their missionaries by their orderly and Christian life. They are an object of admiration to all the government officers and to all the foreigners who visit them. He also tells me that during his visit to the Black-feet and to the Crows, he found them well disposed, and that they are continually clamoring for the Black-gowns to come and guide them, as they have done the Flatheads, in the way

of salvation. Rev. Father Hocken alone during the past year had the happiness of baptizing more than one hundred and fifty adult pagans and a large number of their children, who had come a long distance in order to receive his spiritual guidance. His brethren in the other missions also have had many conversions.

In another letter, dated Nov. 29th last, which I received from Rev. Father Congiato, superior of the California and Oregon missions, where the number of our Fathers and lay-brothers already exceeds forty, he speaks with gratification of a visit he made to the missions in the Rocky Mountains, and which lasted three months.

"Our Fathers," he says, "are accomplishing much good in that distant section. Rev. Father Hocken especially does the work of four ordinary men; he is the worthy brother of the apostle of the Pottowatomies, who ended his splendid career on the Missouri River in 1851. He has succeeded in inducing several tribes to come and live together under his spiritual care. Everything was progressing well at the missions when I left Oregon. To-day all is aflame in that Territory. All the Indians who dwelt on the banks of the Colombia River, from Walla Walla down to Dallas, have joined the Indians of northern California in order to wage war in common upon the Americans, and to commit serious depredations. One of the Oblate Fathers, Rev. Father Pandory, has been murdered. According to the latest news which I have received from St. Paul's mission, at Colville, our Indians are bitterly opposed to the excesses of the other Indians and display no disposition to join them."

Many American newspapers have declared that the primary cause of this war in Oregon is to be found in the cruelties practiced by certain white men against a large number of peaceably-disposed and inoffensive Indians.

Commending myself to your kind prayers, Madame, I have the honor to be, with great respect, your humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

(Original in English.)

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, July 16, 1857.

MR. P. BAYER,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

DEAR SIR:

I received your kind favor of the 7th inst. I have communicated the contents of it to the Archbishop of St. Louis and to his Vicar General, who were very thankful for the information you had the great kindness to send. In this far-spread country where priests are everywhere so much needed, men like Bernard, though wolves in reality, under a show of zeal and with forged or real good papers, may easily be admitted, and creep hypocritically into the sheepfold of Christ, where sooner or later they create a great havoc by their scandalous and evil conduct. Bernard will find no room in these quarters; he is a marked man; I must congratulate you and the whole congregation at Brooklyn that you have got rid of him so easily and quietly without any struggle at all, thanks no doubt to the great and good St. Anthony, whose intercession you have all so well and fervently implored; according to promise I also have added my poor prayers. I sincerely hope your next pastor will be a man according to the heart of God, pious, zealous, and edifying in all his ways; whose priestly conduct will soon wash off the black spots made by his unhappy predecessor.

I must beg pardon of the family not to have written sooner. I have been rather unwell since my return, and was also kept very busy. My seven companions are all doing very well. I hope you will have read the letter of Rev. Father Hocken, from the Rocky Mountains, published in the *Freeman's Journal* on the 11th inst. I have received of late several invitations from the Black-feet Indians, the Crows, Assiboins and Sioux. They call earnestly for Black-gowns, and desire to be instructed. Last winter about four thousand of these Indians died of small-pox introduced among them by the whites. I recommend them to the good prayers of the family.

Please present my best respects to Mrs. Parmentier, to Mrs. Bayer and to Miss Rosine. In my Mass daily I never forget to pray for the whole family.

Most respectfully, dear Sir,

Your devoted servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

P. S.—On the occasion of my last visit to the family in Brooklyn, the subject of botany was introduced, and I ventured to ask Mrs. Parmentier, Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine, on behalf of one or the other of our establishments in Belgium, for a few prepared plants, dried and mounted, as specimens, to be made up in duplicate from among the fine collection which I have inspected with so much interest and pleasure. Either Rev. Father Hersell, Superior of St. Ignatius Institute at Antwerp, or Rev. Father Bellynck, College of Our Lady of Peace at Namur, will be delighted and grateful to receive a few plants from the rich American soil.

Allow me to add still another little request, addressed to the ladies, and on behalf of certain members of my own family. They have often written to me and asked for seeds of American flowers. If a package could be made up conveniently, and without causing bother to the family, I shall be glad to accept it for my two nephews, Mr. Gustave Van Kerckhove-Key of Antwerp and for Mr. Charles De Smet-Blondell, Antwerp. The entire package might be forwarded to Mr. G. Key, shipping agent at Antwerp.

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, April 13, 1858.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

Your kind letter of the 16th and the case containing the elegant chasuble arrived almost together. I do not know,

Madame, how to express my thanks sufficiently for this fine gift which you have just added to the long list of kindnesses you have been showering upon the Missions for so many years. You are by good right on the list of great benefactresses of the Society of Jesus in America. Our Rule places upon us a very agreeable obligation. As a benefactress you share abundantly in all the prayers and good works which the Society practices. For my own part, Madame, please to accept my most sincere thanks. I shall never forget all the kindnesses that I have received from you, from Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and from Miss Rosine. I shall continue every day, at the altar, and in my poor prayers, to beg Heaven's blessings for you.

It is quite likely that I shall soon make another excursion, for two or three months, among the Indian tribes of the great wilderness. The Indians have often besought me to come and I feel an ardent desire to go, with the permission of my Superiors, and baptize the old men and the little Indian children, a large number of whom die every year without those blessings which are necessary for salvation. Then, too, while the different sects are making great exertions to introduce their false doctrines into these new countries, the Indians need to be encouraged to preserve and practice the good feelings which they have always avowed in favor of the true Black-gowns. I would ask your special prayers for the success of this mission.

I do not know if in my previous letters I have mentioned to you the famous Bernard. Here is what happened. After he left Brooklyn he wrote to the Vicar General of St. Louis to state that he was very anxious to come and labor in this part of the Vineyard of the Lord. His letter was dated at Cincinnati. Happening to be at the Archbishop's house, I communicated to him the information which Mr. Bayer had had the goodness to give me on that subject. It was just in time, for the Vicar General was about to reply to him; and his reply in consequence, was, that he would require Bernard, before coming, to furnish proper credentials, obtained from the ecclesiastical authorities at the place which he had left. I think that was the end of the matter. It is certain that Bernard

never appeared in this section. I have never heard of him since and do not know what has become of him.

With my best respects to you and your family,

I have the honor to be, Madame,

Yours truly,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY, June 15, 1860.

MADAME SOPHIE PARMENTIER,

Brooklyn, N. Y.

MADAME:

Your kind letter of the 9th inst. has been received. It afforded me much pleasure; it was edifying and consoling. I cashed the draft which you had the charity to include in your letter for the Rocky Mountain Missions. In the name of all our good Indians I offer you my heartfelt gratitude. I venture to say that they too will not fail to show their gratitude and to renew their prayers for your spiritual and temporal welfare and that of your dear and worthy family. I desire to thank you also at the same time for your kind remembrances in regard to myself. They were undoubtedly of great assistance to me during my long and perilous journeying by land and by sea in 1858 and 1859.

I am glad to learn that Mr. and Mrs. Bayer and Miss Rosine are enjoying good health. Please present my best respects to them, as well as my gratitude for all their kind prayers and the interest which they take in the success of the missions. I will offer to the Lord every day at the altar, your requests and intentions, as well as those of your dear children, with my earnest prayer that the blessings of Heaven may always abound in your family.

Allow me to add a little good news from our missions. About two months ago, Rev. Father Damen, S.J., gave a mission in Detroit, Mich. He had the great happiness of baptizing on

the same day sixty-seven Protestants, and of receiving very many non-Catholics who presented themselves for instruction and preparation for this holy Sacrament, so as to enter into the fold of the Lord. In the territory of Kansas, Rev. Father Schoenmakers, S.J., lately gave Baptism to twenty Protestants converted to the Faith. On the 20th of May last at our church at St. Louis, out of the two hundred and fifty persons who received Confirmation from the hand of our worthy and venerable Archbishop, more than forty were converts from Protestantism. Thousands are returning to the holy practice of their religion in all the places where missions are given. In our church alone every week more than one thousand persons receive Holy Communion.

I have the honor to be, Madame,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

P. J. DE SMET, S.J.

REGISTER OF THE CLERGY LABORING IN THE
ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK FROM EARLY
MISSIONARY TIMES TO 1885.

BY THE MOST REV. MICHAEL AUGUSTINE CORRIGAN, D.D.

VI.

BEAUDEVIN, REV. VICTOR, S.J.

Father Beaudevin was born in Paris, November 25, 1823. He was ordained on May 25, 1850. In 1851 he was assistant professor of mathematics at Fordham; in 1852-3 he was professor. In 1854 he left the Order and served for a time in the Newark diocese as a secular priest in the capacity of Chancellor and Secretary to the Bishop. From 1857 to 1861 he was pastor at St. John's, Paterson. In the last mentioned year, on November 8, he reentered the Society. In 1863-5, he was prefect of studies at St. Mary's, Montreal. In 1865-6 he was in parish work at Fordham. In 1867-8-9, he was stationed at St. Francis Xavier's. In 1870 he was pastor at St. Francis Xavier's, and from April 16, 1871, to 1874 pastor at St. Peter's, Jersey City. In 1875-6 he was procurator at Fordham. From that period to the time of his death, March 22, 1891, he was at St. Mary's College in Montreal.

PERNOT, REV. CLAUDIUS, S.J.

Father Pernot, who was born May 20, 1821, entered the Society of Jesus, Province of France, September 12, 1842, and was ordained by Bishop Hughes, June 14, 1849. He was professor of chemistry at Fordham during 1851-2, and from the time of the departure of Father Beaudevin in 1854, down to 1858, he was professor of mathematics as well. About that time he left the Society of Jesus, and was stationed from 1858 to 1861 at St. James', as assistant.

LEGARRA, REV. FAUSTUS, S.J.

Father Legarra, who was born on November 6, 1822, entered the Society of Jesus June 7, 1839. In 1850-52, he was a student of theology at Fordham. In 1864-5, he was professor of history in the Seminary of Salamanca. He went to South America about 1859 and became rector of the College of Quito, Columbia. Subsequently he was attached as a missionary to the college of Guayaquil.

KOHLEK, REV. AUGUSTUS, S.J.

Father Kohler was born August 10, 1821, and entered the Society of Jesus at the Novitiate of Saint-Acheul, Province of France, July 19, 1842. In 1846 he came from Georgetown, D.C., to finish his theology at Fordham, and was ordained by Bishop Hughes, May 30, 1847. For nearly a quarter of a century Father Kohler labored as a missionary among the Indians on the shores of the Great Lakes. His death is recorded as having occurred October 15, 1871. He had taken passage on a Lake steamer that was lost with all on board.

KOBLEK, REV. ANDREW, S.J.

Father Andrew Kobler was born on June 22, 1816 at Mühl-dorf, a small town in Bavaria, on the river Inn, not far from the celebrated shrine of Altötting. He was already a priest when, on November 4, 1844, he entered the Society of Jesus in the Province of Austria-Galicia.

Father Kobler was sent to the Novitiate at Graz, where he remained till 1846, when, for a more thorough study of scholastic philosophy, he went to Freinberg, near Linz, a castle which had been given to the Fathers by the Grand-Master of the Teutonic Knights, Archduke Maximilian d'Este. The following year he was destined to go to Innsbruck, in order to review and perfect his theological studies. But the year of universal upheaval, 1848, put a sudden end to his peaceful pursuit of scientific studies. The Novitiate of Graz was sacked by the revolutionists, Linz had to be abandoned, and in May the Em-

after which he returned to Fordham as professor of Sacred Scripture. He died August 15, 1864.

LOYZANCE, REV. JOSEPH MARIE RENÉ, S.J.

Father Loyzance, the fifth president of St. Francis Xavier's College, N.Y., was born in the parish of St. Ouen des Alleux, diocese of Rennes, Brittany, March 12, 1820. He received his classical education at the petit seminaire of Rennes and was ordained priest by Bishop Godfrey Saint-Marc, December 21, 1844. He entered the novitiate at Vannes, December 3, 1849, and after that was sent to Laval to review his theology. Eager for the greatest self-sacrifice in God's vineyard, he offered himself to his superiors for the foreign missions. He was sent to the Mission of Canada, arriving in New York in October, 1852. For a year he devoted his attention to the study of English, and during the ensuing eight years filled various offices at St. Francis Xavier's College.

In 1860, he was appointed rector of St. Joseph's Church, Troy, N.Y., and in 1863 became president of St. Francis Xavier's College. During his administration the college was highly prosperous, steadily increasing in numbers until four hundred and seventy-five students were in attendance. In 1863, he established the society of the College Alumni which still flourishes and numbers among its members some of the most prominent citizens of New York. He was the first president to found scholarships in the College. He retired from office at St. Francis Xavier's in 1870 to become treasurer of St. Mary's College, Montreal, Canada. His next charge was at St. Bartholomew's Church, Guelph, Canada. Later he was appointed minister at Fordham, N.Y., and in 1876 he was sent to Troy, where he remained twelve years. He was mainly instrumental in founding the shrine at Auriesville, N.Y., whither great numbers of Catholics resort in devout pilgrimage every year.

About 1880, Father Loyzance was named Superior of the house of retreats at Keyser Island, South Norwalk, Conn. In August 1891, he was sent to St. Peter's College, Jersey City. His last assignment was to the College of the Holy Cross, Wor-

CHARAUX, REV. CHARLES (OR THEOPHILE), S.J.

Father Charaux was born in France, April 19, 1830, entered the Society of Jesus at the novitiate in Issenheim, April 30, 1852, and was ordained a priest by Cardinal McCloskey, then Bishop of Albany, in 1856. He was a student of theology at Fordham, 1854-7, prefect of discipline 1857-9, then teacher of Latin, 1859-60, and again prefect, 1860-1. In the fall session of 1861 he became vice president of St. John's and prefect of studies, and in 1863-5 he taught at St. Francis Xavier's. The following year, 1865-6, was passed at Laon, in France. In 1866-8 he was prefect of studies and professor of rhetoric at the scholasticate in Quebec, 1868-70 at Fordham, and in 1871 again at St. Francis Xavier's. In 1873 he was made Superior of the New York and Canada Mission, and when New York was united to the Province of Maryland in 1879 he was appointed master of novices and instructor of the Tertians at Sault-au-Récollet, Canada. He died August 12, 1902.

SCHEMMEL, REV. SERAPHIN, S.J.

Father Schemmel, who was born in Rouffach, Alsace, January 24, 1817, was ordained priest in 1841, and entered the Society of Jesus, Province of France, August 21, 1850. He was in America from 1853. For twenty-five years he was stationed in the colleges at Fordham, Montreal, New York and Woodstock, and was one of the most distinguished teachers of philosophy, theology, Scripture and Hebrew in the country. He died at St. Francis Xavier's, July 9, 1878.

GRESSLIN, REV. CHARLES, S.J.

Father Gresslin was born at Hiesville, France, November 26, 1818, and entered the Society of Jesus in France, July 6, 1841. He taught philosophy at Brugelette, Belgium, and philosophy and theology in the seminary at Blois. He was also professor of philosophy, dogmatic theology, Scripture and canon law, at Fordham, 1854-60. He was for three years (1860-63) professor of dogma in the Jesuit seminary at Boston,

after which he returned to Fordham as professor of Sacred Scripture. He died August 15, 1864.

LOYZANCE, REV. JOSEPH MARIE RENÉ, S.J.

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About 1880, Father Loyzance was named Superior of the house of retreats at Keyser Island, South Norwalk, Conn. In August 1891, he was sent to St. Peter's College, Jersey City. His last assignment was to the College of the Holy Cross, Wor-



REV. THEODORE THIRY, S.J.

chester, Mass., in May, 1895, where he died a holy death, February 23, 1897. Father Loyzance was a man of unfailing gentleness, sturdy manliness and rare prudence, qualities which well fitted him for the office of Superior he held for so many years.

THIRY, REV. THEODORE, S.J.

Father Thiry was born in Metz, Alsace, December 14, 1823. At an early age he was sent to St. Clement's, the college of the Jesuits in Metz, and on September 11, 1843, entered the novitiate at St. Acheul. His higher studies, begun at Brugelette in Belgium, were after his arrival in this country resumed at Fordham in 1847. On May 25, 1850, he was raised to the priesthood by Archbishop Hughes. He made the third year of probation in Canada in 1858-59, and in the following year was stationed at St. Mary's College, Montreal. With this exception, Father Thiry was in the class-room in one capacity or another at St. Francis Xavier's from 1851 to 1866. After that he gave nearly all his time and attention to parochial duties. Appointed over the schools of the parish, he visited them most faithfully, and under his supervision they soon took a foremost place among their class in the city. In 1867, he reorganized the Young Men's Sodality he had established in 1860, and out of its increasing numbers formed a sodality for all under eighteen years of age. These two with the Men's gave him three sodalities over which he continued to preside. Each had its own Saturday for confession, its Sunday for Holy Communion in a body, and its monthly meeting besides the other services common to all sodalities. Among the students in the college he was always a popular confessor; no wonder, for he took a special interest in his youthful penitents.

In 1866, Father Thiry accepted the directorship of the Association of the Holy Childhood, which had just been founded in America with its head centre in New York. This apostolic work would alone be sufficient for a man of ordinary mould, but not for Father Thiry. His next venture was the establishment in 1871 of the Literary Society of St. Francis Xavier's

Church, which still flourishes. The Society was made up of young men drawn from all parts of the city, who were desirous of cultivating literary taste and developing literary habits without any loss of Catholic faith and Catholic devotion. Much might be said of Father Thiry's labors as director of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, of his devotion to the sick and the poor, of his fatherly guidance of men and boys who streamed to his confessional, but all this is written in the Book of Life.

In the midst of these labors Father Thiry was stricken with paralysis in 1880, and though he recovered partially and for several years continued to perform some of his former duties, he at length succumbed and went to receive his reward on the thirteenth of March, 1889. Between three and four thousand men attended the funeral obsequies.

MADDEN, REV. JOHN.

Father Madden, who died June 6, 1861, had been assistant to Father Thomas Martin, O.P., at Rondout and Rosendale in 1851, and pastor at Rondout from 1852 till January, 1858. His immediate successors were Father McNeirny, January to May, 1858, and Rev. Daniel G. Durning, May 1858 to November 1859.

JUNG, REV. FREDERICK.

Father Jung was assistant to Very Rev. J. Raffeiner, V.G., in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Williamsburg, 1851. It was to this church apparently that applicants for admission to the diocese were sent for a period of probation.

McCLOSKEY, RIGHT REV. WILLIAM GEORGE.

Bishop McCloskey made his theological studies at Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, and was ordained priest by Archbishop Hughes, October 6, 1852. He was assistant to his brother, Rev. George McCloskey, at the Nativity, 1853, and in 1859 became a professor and the director of the seminary at Mount St. Mary's. In 1860 he became the first rector of the American College in Rome, and on May 24, 1868, was consecrated Bishop of Louisville.

DONNELLY, VERY REV. ARTHUR J.

Monsignor Donnelly was born at Athy, Kildare, Ireland, January 19, 1820. Engaging at first in business, he entered in 1846 the newly opened seminary at Fordham. Receiving ordination at the hands of Archbishop Hughes, in the old cathedral, October 6, 1852, he was assigned on the 28th of that month to Manhattanville. Having organized the parish and built the Church of the Annunciation, he was transferred in October, 1855, to Fordham, to be procurator of the seminary and to form a parish there. As pastor of St. Michael's, from 1857 to 1887, he erected the church, the schoolhouse, the residence and the convent. (See Shea, *Churches*, pp. 524-5.) When the church was consecrated on February 22, 1886, Father Donnelly published a remarkable statement showing that he had received over \$1,200,000 at St. Michael's, and accounting with vouchers for every penny. He became Vicar General at the death of Mgr. Quinn, and Domestic Prelate in 1888. During the months of January and February, 1887, he was at St. Stephen's. Father Donnelly died at St. Michael's Rectory, March 24, 1890.

DELAHUNTY, REV. CORNELIUS.

Father Delahunty, on completing his studies at Fordham, was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, March 13, 1852. He served as assistant at St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1852, and afterwards at St. James', Brooklyn. In 1854 he was chaplain at the Sacred Heart Academy, Manhattanville.

LEWIS, REV. JOHN.

Father Lewis, at one time a member of the Redemptorist Congregation, was pastor at Clifton, Staten Island, from 1852 to his death, Sunday, November 27, 1887. From 1853 to October, 1855, he was pastor at Rossville also, succeeding Rev. Mark Murphy, and being relieved by Father Cass. At the time of his death the church, rectory, schoolhouse, hall and cemetery, and the church at Stapleton, all due to his zeal, were entirely free of debt. This pious and learned priest, highly esteemed by

the residents on the island, was buried, at his own request, between the presbytery and the church.

McCARTY, REV. JOHN.

Father McCarty attended Calvary cemetery in 1852, succeeding Father John Conroy, and from October 20 to December 16 of the same year was at St. Stephen's.

McCANN, REV. ARTHUR.

Father McCann was assistant at St. Mary's Church, first under Rev. William Starrs, in 1852, and then under Father Farrell, in 1853.

BOKEL, REV. JOHN A., O.P.

Father Bokel, born in Germany, September 1, 1820, was ordained June 20, 1848.

TELLIER, FATHER REMIGIUS JOSEPH, S.J.

Father Tellier was born at Tavaux, in the department of Aisne, France, October 9, 1796, entering the Society of Jesus, October 11, 1818. In 1842, he was chosen with six companions, three priests and three lay-brothers, to found the new mission of Canada. Father Tellier was vice-president and prefect of studies at St. Francis Xavier's College, N.Y., from 1851 to 1854. In the latter year he was called to St. John's, Fordham, to assume the presidency of that institution, and in November, 1859, was named Superior General of the New York-Canada Mission.

The following notice is taken from the *New York Tablet*, January 20, 1866:

VERY REV. REMIGIUS TELLIER, S.J.

"The *Ordre*, a Journal of Montreal, thus announces the death of the Very Rev. Father Tellier, of the Society of Jesus, at St. Mary's College in that city.

"A great and laborious life has just been closed. The Rev. Father R. J. Tellier, superior of the houses of his Order in New York, Canada and among the Indians bordering the Lakes, died on the morning of the 7th of January. Born at Soissons (error, should be Tavaux), in France in 1796, he entered the Society to which he was divinely called, in 1818.

The first years of his religious life were employed in Savoy, where he displayed those rare qualities for government which marked his direction of affairs in this province. The present Bishop of Montreal, on his first visit to Rome, asked the re-establishment of the Society of Jesus in his diocese, from which it had been absent over forty years, and where, for two centuries before, it had labored with zeal and success. Father Tellier was one of the seven members who were sent over in accordance with this request. During the first two years after his arrival, from 1844 to 1846, Father Tellier was stationed at Laprairie, where his memory is still in benediction. Soon, however, his self-devotedness found a wider field for its exercise, when the typhus fever broke out among the Irish immigrants who were huddled together in sheds at St. Charles' Point. There night and day in the midst of the epidemic, he and his fellow priests administered to the wants of these poor plague-stricken souls. After this, Father Tellier aided in founding the present church of St. Patrick in this city. From here he was sent to Upper Canada, where he remained three years, and after that to the United States, where he filled successively the charges of prefect of studies of St. Francis Xavier's College and president of St. John's College, Fordham. After the departure of Father Hus in 1858, he was named Superior, in which post his zeal, judgment, prudence and large views rendered his management of affairs eminently successful. Whether in superintending houses of education, in providing for the spiritual wants of the poor savages, or furnishing ministers to the abandoned and the criminals in the prisons and islands around New York, and chaplains for the Army, Father Tellier was fertile in resources, and ever actuated by supernatural motives in all his appointments."

FARRELL, or O'FARRELL, REV. TIMOTHY.

Father Farrell, or O'Farrell, born in County Longford, Ireland, in 1818, came to America, taught Greek at Cincinnati, was ordained by Bishop Purcell, and was on the mission in the dioceses of Cincinnati, New York and Brooklyn. Having served as assistant at St. James', New York, at St. Paul's, Court St., Brooklyn, and at the Visitation, Brooklyn, he was appointed rector at Red Hook Point in 1855. There he remained until his death, February 16, 1876.

See *Catholic Review*, 1876, p. 132.

O'BEIRNE, REV. JAMES.

Father O'Beirne was assistant at the Transfiguration with Dr. Varela and Father McClellan in 1852.

DEVOST, REV. ANTHONY, S.P.M.

Father Devost was assistant to Father Lafont at the French Church in 1852-53.

HASSLINGER, VERY REV. MARTIN, C.SS.R.

Father Hasslinger, born November 11, 1808, was ordained July 23, 1832. From 1852 to September, 1854, he was stationed at the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. Leaving the Redemptorists in 1854 and entering the diocese of Newark, he became Vicar General for the Germans, February 1855. He began to build St. Mary's Church, High St., Newark, and in April, 1857, left for Europe.

EVERETT, REV. WILLIAM.

Father Everett, born in Albany, August 14, 1814, was, before his conversion, a clergyman in the Protestant Episcopal Church. After his course of theological studies at Fordham, he was ordained priest January 29, 1853, by Archbishop Hughes. Having served as assistant at St. Peter's, 1853, St. Joseph's and St. Ann's, 1854-5, he was assigned, October, 1855, to the Nativity, with which church he was connected until his death, December 7, 1900. He was assistant to Father George McCloskey till 1869, and after that date rector. In January, 1891, Father Everett signified his willingness to resign in favor of his senior assistant, but the Diocesan Consultors advised against the acceptance of his resignation. With the consent of the Archbishop, Father Everett gave the active management of the parish to his senior assistant, retaining the position and title of rector.

PETSCH, REV. LEOPOLD, C.SS.R.

Leopold Petsch was born August 23, 1821, at Kornitz, Moravia, a province of the Austrian empire. The days of his

childhood and youth were passed in innocence and piety. His natural disposition always inclined him to seriousness, and made him averse to pleasure and pastimes. His love of retirement, next to God's grace, withdrew him from many occasions of sin, and prepared him for the life of sacrifice he was to lead. When he had completed his twenty-first year, he entered the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, and pronounced his religious vows on November 13, 1843, at Mantern, in Austria. After the completion of his theological studies, he was ordained priest on July 26, 1846.

As at that time a great field was opened in America for the Redemptorist Fathers, our young priest cheerfully embraced the opportunity of consecrating himself in the far West to the service of neglected souls. He placed himself, therefore, at the disposal of his Superiors, who accepted his offer. In the year 1848, in the company of another Father, he embarked, and landed in New York, on March 24.

His first station in America was Baltimore, where he was attached to the community of St. Alphonsus' Church. The labors of the Fathers in Baltimore at that time were very arduous, since they had charge of all German Catholics in the city and in the neighborhood. Besides St. Alphonsus' Church the Fathers had charge of St. James'. Father Petsch was assigned to the latter. In October, 1849, he was transferred to Buffalo, where he labored till April, 1851, from which time until May, 1852, he was at work in Rochester.

During the following seven years, New York was the field of his labors. For five years of this period he shared the labors of Father Helmpraecht, his rector, with whom he vied in zeal for souls. Four years Father Petsch labored among the faithful of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer, and for the next three years he had charge of St. Alphonsus' Church, in the same city.

Here he displayed prodigious zeal. Immigrants found in him a guide and an adviser in the land of their adoption, and were preserved from many dangers besetting their faith. Men who had been strangers to religion for well nigh a life-time,

adventurers and people of every description flocked to the little church, and after listening to the earnest exhortations of Father Petsch, resolved to be reconciled to God in the Sacrament of Penance. He exercised a marvelous influence over the hearts of all, even the most obdurate sinners, and by his untiring efforts brought many to the mercy-seat of God.

In April, 1859, he was removed to Baltimore, where, two years later, he was appointed rector of St. Alphonsus' Church. From this time he filled the office of Superior until 1877. In 1862, he became rector of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer in New York. As rector he was most assiduous in advancing the interest of holy religion, particularly in watching over the little ones attending the parochial schools. The Civil War increased his cares and solicitude. Yet, a more severe ordeal was awaiting the tender-hearted Superior.

In 1865, he was nominated rector of Annapolis, where at that time the house of studies was. On the ninth of July, 1866, a most heart-rending accident occurred which plunged not only the community, but the whole province and many friends of the Redemptorist Fathers into the deepest grief. Four Fathers and three students had taken an outing on a boat, when a sudden storm arose which caused the boat to capsize. Three Fathers and two students were drowned. Although Father Petsch bore the disaster with holy resignation, yet his constitution was unequal to the terrible shock. His health became seriously impaired, and it was necessary to remove him from Annapolis.

He was, therefore, sent to Pittsburg, as rector of St. Philomena's Church, which office he held for five years. In 1871 he became rector of St. Alphonsus' Church in Baltimore. While stationed there he was called one day to administer the last Sacraments to a sick man. It was an intensely hot day, and on his way home he was overcome by the heat. In consequence of this sunstroke, he was brought to the verge of the grave. For days his life was in the balance. Although he recovered, his health was never entirely restored. Still he continued his labors, particularly in the confessional.

In 1873, Rev. William H. Gross, the Superior of the Redemptorist Mission Church in Boston, was consecrated Bishop of Savannah, Georgia, and Father Petsch became his successor in Boston. It was thought that a more northern climate would prove beneficial to his health. The numerous penitents who, in Boston, chose him for their spiritual guide, bear witness to the apostolic zeal with which he dispensed this holy Sacrament. His whole personality inspired confidence, and gained for him the reputation of a man of God. The confessional was, therefore, his chief field of action.

But another material task was to be undertaken by our Father. The small, temporary frame-church, which had been erected in 1871, was to be replaced by a magnificent temple, worthy of the Most High and the Heavenly Queen, whose name it was to bear. On September 21, 1874, the first sod was turned in the excavation for the foundation of the new church. The cornerstone was solemnly blessed by Archbishop Williams, on May 28, 1876. During the following night a fire broke out, which consumed the greater part of the rectory, and it was only owing to the united efforts of the firemen and faithful, who knelt in the garden praying, when they could not help otherwise, that the little church was saved. Thus, good Father Petsch's faith, confidence and patience was again severely tried. The new disaster impaired his health still more. For this reason, to his great joy and consolation, he was permitted to step out of office in 1877, when Rev. Father William Loewekamp was appointed to succeed him. Father Petsch remained attached to the Boston community, and continued his work of zeal and usefulness, till almost the very day of his death, which occurred on June 20, 1882.

For a long time the Father had been in poor health, and was urged by his friends to take some rest; but he would not run the risk of losing any of the merits of patient suffering. The end came, however, much sooner than was anticipated. On the 19th of June, 1882, he was already reduced to such a state of weakness, that the physician declared he would not survive forty-eight hours. The last Sacraments were administered to

him by the rector, Rev. Joseph Henning. He spoke very little after this, and expressed but one wish, "to possess God." His mind was already fixed on Heaven. On June 20, he breathed his last after a protracted struggle.

Father Petsch was one of those humble souls who, as much as possible, hide themselves from men, in order to live and labor only in God and for God. His whole life was a life according to faith. He thought, judged and acted only according to this divine rule. As a religious, Father Petsch was zealous and mindful of the Rules of his Order, thus showing himself a good religious and a true son of St. Alphonsus. In his dealings with his religious brethren he showed the greatest charity. Being himself a model of every religious virtue, it was easy for him, as Superior, to lead his subjects to follow his example. Toward strangers he was not less amiable, yet he disliked useless loss of time. For this reason he was, now and then, somewhat short in his conversation with those who visited him. Yet on account of his fatherly manner, he knew how to conciliate the confidence of all. His Christian charity never permitted him to listen to anything derogatory to the good name of his neighbor. His humility was such that it was noticed by all. Never was he heard to speak of himself, nor defend his own opinion with obstinacy. Never was he provoked when in any way hurt or offended. He was tranquil and resigned in time of suffering, and though wasted by corporal sufferings he continued to labor till the last moment.

His exterior was always grave and recollected, so that he appeared always to walk in the presence of God. He was in the habit of constantly repeating pious ejaculations, so much so that these would, at times, escape his lips unconsciously and become audible. Whenever his services were required he could be found either in his cell or in the chapel.

JOSLIN, REV. TITUS.

Father Joslin, who was born in Schenectady, where his father, Dr. Joslin, was a professor in Union College, became

convert, studied at Fordham, and was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, March 13, 1852. He was assistant at St. Ann's, March to May, 1852, at St. Stephen's, 1852-3, at St. Michael's, at St. Columba's with Father McAleer, 1853, 1854, 1855-6, 1857-8, and at St. John the Evangelist's, 1859. He finally entered the Newark Diocese and became pastor of the Immaculate Conception Church, Montclair, 1865. Becoming paralyzed, he was succeeded in 1874 by Rev. A. M. Steets. He passed away peacefully, October 15, 1882, attended by his old friend, Father Duranquet. Father Joslin was pious but extremely eccentric.

McGOVERN, REV. PATRICK.

Baptized at the old cathedral, Father McGovern studied at the cathedral school, and at Mr. McElroy's Academy, New York City, and was graduated A.B. at Fordham, 1848. Entering the seminary at Fordham, September, 1848, he was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, January 29, 1853. He was assistant at St. James', and then, after December, 1853, at Madison in the diocese of Newark. On account of ill-health he withdrew January 29, 1855. Resuming his labors, he was in turn stationed at Morristown, at Bergen Point, where he paid off the entire debt, and from July, 1876, at Keyport. In 1877 he became rector of the Church of the Holy Name of Mary, Croton-on-Hudson, in the New York diocese. From 1894 to his death, March 20, 1902, he was rector emeritus. He was buried from St. Patrick's Cathedral.

O'NEILL, REV. PATRICK.

Father O'Neill was born in County Cavan, Ireland, 1822, studied at Maynooth for six years, and was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, October 6, 1852. At the request of Bishop Loughlin the young priest was transferred from a curacy at the Church of the Nativity to the pastorate of St. Joseph's Church in the new diocese of Brooklyn, where he remained till his death, September 18, 1867. Father O'Neill was one of the most faithful priests in the diocese.

BOHAN, REV. ANDREW.

Father Bohan was born in the parish of Mohlin, County Leitrim, in 1822, educated at Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, and ordained by Archbishop Hughes, October 6, 1852. While pastor at Flatbush, L.I., he laid out and beautified the cemetery. During his nine years' pastorate at the Church of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, Williamsburg, beginning in 1855, he reduced the debt, organized schools, and accomplished many other good works. He died of dropsy, November 28, 1864, and was buried in Flatbush cemetery, on the feast of his patron saint.

FARRELLY, REV. FELIX H.

Father Farrelly was born December 28, 1832, in Cavan, or Longford, and trained at Castleknock, at the Cavan seminary, and at Maynooth. Soon after his ordination by Archbishop Cullen, at All Hallows', Dublin, July 3, 1854, he came to America and was assistant at the Nativity from October 1, 1854, to 1856. After serving for a few years as pastor at the Annunciation, Manhattanville, he became pastor at Rondout, November 12, 1859. He introduced the Sisters of Charity there, established St. Mary's Academy, and purchased the new cemetery on the Flatbush Road. From June 1, 1865, to July, 1880, he filled, with great credit and with great advantage to souls, the pastoral charge of St. James. He built very fine schools there and left the parish in a prosperous condition. (See Shea, *Churches*, p. 399.) In 1880 he succeeded Father Farrell at St. Joseph's. Soon afterwards his health began to fail visibly, and during the remainder of his life he suffered most acutely. He died February 8, 1882.

JOYCE, REV. THOMAS.

Father Joyce, born in Ireland, January, 1811, was stationed at Sag Harbor, 1852, at Rondout as assistant, from May, 1852, to November, 1853, and at Yonkers, as assistant, from 1853. He was second resident pastor and chaplain at Calvary

cemetery, succeeding Rev. Patrick Hennessy, who died January 26, 1861. In 1879-80, on account of the malarial fever, he retired to St. Francis' Hospital, Fifth street, and died there, September 13, 1890.

Father Joyce is authority for the statement that when he came to New York, in 1838, there were only forty-two priests in the States of New York and New Jersey.

METZLER, REV. CASPAR.

Father Metzler, after his ordination by Archbishop Hughes, October 6, 1852, was assistant to Vicar General Raffeiner, at Williamsburg. He was pastor at Melrose, 1853-64, and for the following nine years in Poughkeepsie. He was very much beloved by the German population. He died December 3, 1873.

See notice of his funeral in *Freeman's Journal*, December 27, 1873.

McDERMOTT, REV. BERNARD.

Father McDermott was non-resident chaplain of Ward's Island, 1852, assistant at St. Peter's the same year, assistant at St. Mary's, Rondout, from December, 1853, to August, 1854, and assistant at St. Bridget's, 1854.

CALLAN, REV. JAMES.

Father Callan, brother of Rev. John Callan, was born in 1826 at Newry, Ireland, and educated at Maynooth. He was assistant to Rev. J. Kelly, Jersey City, 1852, and pastor at South Amboy from October 1853. While pastor at St. James', Newark, from October, 1854, to 1860, he built the original brick church, afterwards used as a schoolhouse. In 1860 he built St. Mary's Church at Bergen Point. In August, 1861, he was transferred to St. John's, Paterson, and in October, 1863, to Lambertville. In February, 1864, he went to California and became pastor at San Leandro. He lost his life in a steamboat explosion while returning from retreat, August 24,

1864. He inhaled the scalding steam, yet heroically gave the last Sacraments to others, until the end.

He was an eloquent preacher, and a very zealous worker. His warm temper sometimes created trouble for his people.

MOONEY, REV. THOMAS J.

Father Mooney, born of Irish parents in Manchester, England, 1824, came to America in 1840, and studied at Fordham seminary. After his ordination by Archbishop Hughes, January 28, 1853, he entered upon his life long association with St. Bridget's parish, at first, for a brief period, as assistant, and then as pastor. He established and successfully maintained large parish schools.

During the Civil War Father Mooney was chaplain of the 69th Regiment and of the Irish Brigade.

On September 11, 1877, while he was driving at night on Fifth Avenue, his buggy was overturned by a heap of stone left without a light, and two days later he died.

See *Catholic Review*, September, 1877, p. 180.

EGAN, VERY REV. PATRICK.

Dean Egan made his theological studies at Fordham and was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, January 29, 1853. His first appointment was as assistant at St. Patrick's, Newark and on the creation of the diocese of Newark he returned to New York. He was at St. Ann's in 1853, at St. Mary's in 1855 and pastor at Verplanck's Point and Peekskill, 1856-7. From June 26, 1857, to August 19, 1864, he was at Holy Cross with Father P. McCarthy. From 1864 to 1890 he was pastor of St. Teresa's, Tarrytown. At the Fifth Diocesan Synod, November 17 and 18, 1886, Father Egan was made rural dean for the counties of Westchester, Putnam, and Dutchess.

He departed this life at St. Teresa's rectory, Tarrytown, October 17, 1890.

QUINN, REV. JOHN.

Father Quinn, born in Ireland in 1808, and educated in Montreal and at Fordham, was ordained by Bishop Hughes, September 23, 1848. While assistant to Father James McDonough at St. James', Brooklyn, 1848-52, he established the missions of Fort Hamilton and Flatbush, and was chaplain at the Fever Hospital.

He was pastor at Piermont from 1852 to his death, December 22, 1875, and was succeeded by Father Wm. L. Penny, assistant at St. James'. The mission at Piermont originally included a district about fifty miles square. All the churches in Rockland county at the time of Father Quinn's death, at Piermont, Nyack, Greenwood, Spring Valley, and elsewhere, had been erected by him. He was a good, simple-minded, charitable priest, and was very much beloved by his people.

TOMEI, REV. MICHAEL, S.J.

Father Tomei died at St. Joseph's seminary, Fordham, N.Y., December 10, 1850. Born in Tivoli, Italy, September 17, 1792, he became a member of the Roman Province, November 12, 1814, the year of the restoration of the Society, and made his solemn profession, February 2, 1829. In 1825 he was appointed a professor in the Roman College at the time it was confided to the Jesuit Fathers. From that period he always occupied a distinguished post in some establishment of education until 1849, when he sought a refuge in the United States from the terrors of the Mazzinian anarchy. At the time of his death he was prefect of higher studies and professor of moral theology in the Fordham seminary.

HENNESSY, REV. PATRICK.

Father Hennessy, assistant at the Cathedral, 1853-4, attended Calvary cemetery, 1853-6, and labored there, as the first resident chaplain, from October, 1858, till his death, January 26, 1861.

MURRAY, REV. JOHN.

Father Murray was ordained by Bishop Loughlin for Archbishop Hughes, December 23, 1854.

DURNING, REV. DANIEL.

Father Durning, after assisting at the Transfiguration, 1853, with Father McClellan, at the Cathedral, 1854, and at St. Peter's, 1855-58, became rector at St. Mary's, Rondout, May, 1858, and remained there till November, 1859.

FARRELL, or FARRELLY, REV. BERNARD.

Father Farrell, or Farrelly, born in 1829, made his studies at Fordham seminary, and was ordained by Archbishop Hughes, January 29, 1853. After assisting at the Cathedral, 1853 and 1854, he was commissioned, June 15, 1855, to build the Church of the Immaculate Conception, East 14th Street. He assembled the Catholics of the district in a temporary church, August 15, and began to raise funds; he was soon obliged, on account of failing health, to resign the undertaking, and died at Manhattanville, in the following year on July 18. The work he began was successfully completed by Rev. John Ryan.

SHEEHAN, VERY REV. DENIS.

The Very Rev. Canon Sheehan was born at Queenstown, Ireland, 1809 and was for many years connected with the Irish College, Paris, with the title of Canon of Limoges. From November 1853 until his death, October 27, 1875, he was pastor of Channingsville (Sylvan Lake), now Wappinger's Falls, and a large outlying district. He had a very hard mission, and would often travel twenty-five miles on foot, laden with the requisites for the celebration of Mass. For a mention of this pious and learned priest, see *Freeman's Journal*, November, 13, 1875.



REV. JOSEPH HELMPRECHT, C.S.S.R.



REV. JOSEPH RENÉ LOYZANCE, S.J.

MONAHAN, REV. MICHAEL.

Father Monahan was pastor at Peekskill and Verplanck's Point from 1853 to 1856, when he was succeeded by Rev. Patrick Egan.

MCNEIRNY, RT. REV. FRANCIS, D.D.

Bishop McNeirny was born in New York City and baptized at St. Patrick's, Mott St. On completing his theological studies in Canada, he was ordained priest by Archbishop Hughes, August 17, 1854. He was chaplain to the Archbishop, 1854-56, chancellor, 1857, pastor at Rondout and Rosendale for a short time in 1858, and secretary to the Archbishop for several years. On December 22, 1871, he was appointed, and on April 21, 1872, consecrated Bishop of Rhesiná, *in partibus infidelium*, and coadjutor to the Bishop of Albany. He became Administrator Apostolic, 1874, and on October 16, 1877, by right of succession, Bishop of Albany. He died January 2, 1894.

VAN RYCKEVORSEL, REV. JOHN, C.SS.R.

Father van Ryckevorsel was born March 17, 1818, in Rotterdam, Holland, of very respectable Catholic parents. He entered the congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer early in 1842, and after his year's novitiate at Saint Trond in Belgium, he pronounced his religious vows, March 25, 1843. At Wittem in Holland he pursued his course of philosophy and theology, and was ordained priest, June 25, 1848. For about three years he labored in his native country. In 1851, when Father Bernard Hafkenscheid, the first Provincial of the American houses of the congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, was in quest of additional laborers for the American mission, Father van Ryckevorsel offered his services, which were accepted. He arrived in New York on November 11, 1851. Until 1853 he was stationed at St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, but in January of said year he was transferred to New York, where he labored until September, 1855, when he was recalled to Europe. For

some time he was attached to the mission in Ireland, but his last years were spent in the province of Holland, where he died, on July 10, 1890, at Roermond.

HELMPRÆCHT, REV. JOSEPH, C.SS.R.

In the American annals of the Redemptorists the name of Father Helmprecht will occupy a conspicuous place. He was born, January 14, 1820, at Niederwinkling, a small Bavarian town, of pious and well-to-do parents. Under the parental roof he learned the first lessons of that genuine piety and indomitable pursuit of solid virtue which characterized him throughout his life. At an early age he was sent to the school of the Benedictine Fathers at Metten, where he received his classical education. The late Abbot Boniface Wimmer, the founder of St. Vincent's Abbey in Pennsylvania, was one of his tutors. Having completed his classical course he betook himself to the University of Munich, where at that time a number of celebrities delivered their lectures in the different branches of theology and philosophy. It was at this period of his life that young Helmprecht received the divine call to the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. He was received and entered the novitiate at Altötting in 1843, with the intention of devoting himself to the American mission. He arrived in America in the month of June, 1843, in the company of several Fathers.

At that time there was not yet a regular house of the novitiate in this country. Hence the house attached to the old St. James' Church, Baltimore, became the first house where the novices were to be trained for their arduous vocation. The novice-master was Father Ernest Glaunach, a religious of sound, but somewhat rigorous principles. In the novitiate Father Helmprecht laid the foundation of that saintly life which distinguished him ever afterwards. On the 8th of December 1844, he pronounced his religious vows, and after a short revision of his theological studies was ordained priest, December 21, 1845.

The first three years of Father Helmprecht's priestly life

were spent in Baltimore, where his zeal and regularity soon won the admiration, love and confidence both of his superiors and of the faithful. It is, therefore, not surprising that, although but twenty-eight years of age, he was, in July 1848, appointed Superior of St. Mary's Church and house in Buffalo. Great things were here accomplished by the young, energetic and pious Superior. The cornerstone of a new church had been laid on April 24, 1848, by Bishop Timon; it was under way, and was happily completed in 1850. On July 28 of that year the solemn consecration took place by the same Bishop. A grand mission was opened on that very day. The erection of a school was the next object to be looked after. Father Helmpræcht's disinterested zeal prevailed on the faithful to make new sacrifices, and he succeeded in building a spacious school, which was completed in 1851. The next undertaking was an orphanage in which he was equally successful.

Father Helmpræcht, though a young Superior, displayed such prudential zeal that the higher superiors rightly concluded that he was fit for more responsible offices in the Order. When, therefore, in 1854, new superiors were appointed, he was transferred to New York, as rector of the important Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. He held this office for six years, and again demonstrated his apostolic zeal and met with marvelous success. At this period two German churches in New York, that of the Most Holy Redeemer, and that of St. Alphonsus, were served by the Redemptorist Fathers, and consequently, under the jurisdiction of Father Helmpræcht. He, as rector, reserved to himself the most laborious duties of the holy ministry. One of the greatest surviving monuments of Father Helmpræcht's practical undertakings is the German orphan-asylum in 89th street, the section known as Yorktown.

In 1860 he was transferred to Philadelphia, remaining only a few months, when, in 1861, the famous St. Philomena's Church in Pittsburg became the scene of his labors, not in the quality of rector, but as assistant. Free from the worries and cares of a superior, our humble Father felt very happy, but this comparative period of rest was to be of brief duration.

Twenty young Redemptorists had been raised to the priesthood in March 1863, and were to be prepared for their apostolic career by what is called a second novitiate. A Father was sought; one of great experience and otherwise qualified to initiate young men in the various duties of the active life without impairing the spirit of the true religious. The choice fell on Father Helmpræcht as the man eminently fitted for so important a position. While acting as prefect of the second novitiate he was obliged to take charge of the community as rector, the former rector, Rev. Father Seelos, having been assigned to missionary work.

In 1865, the Superior General summoned the Provincial Rev. Father DeDycker, to Rome, assigning Father Helmpræcht as his companion. The latter returned to the United States in July of the same year as Provincial of the American Province. For twelve years he had to bear the burden of that responsible charge. As Provincial Father Helmpræcht displayed the same indefatigable zeal which had distinguished him as local superior, with this difference, that he now had a wider field for his tireless activity.

As the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer was primarily founded for the purpose of giving missions and similar spiritual exercises, many Fathers, witnessing the great results of the missions, believed that the time had come to establish some houses the Fathers of which should devote themselves exclusively to missions and retreats.

Father Helmpræcht, the new Provincial, seconded these views, and with the cordial approbation of the Superior General endeavored to carry out this long cherished project. The first so-called English mission-house was opened in New York. A dwelling was purchased near St. Alphonsus' Church in Thompson street, and a separate community established, on November 9, 1866. While continuing the parochial duties for the German faithful, for whom the church had been originally built, it now became in addition a mission-church for English-speaking Catholics. Thus the labors in that church were lite-

rally doubled, since regular services had to be held for both nationalities.

A similar foundation was made in the same year, 1866, in St. Louis, Mo. Many very successful missions had been given in the course of several years in the archdiocese of St. Louis and other western dioceses. The good results of these labors induced Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick to propose the establishment of a house of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer in his episcopal city. The Fathers were to have a mission-church exempt from parochial duties. Until they could build their own church somewhere on the outskirts of the city, the Archbishop allowed them the use of his Cathedral, where they began their labors on September 30, 1866.

In 1871 Father Helmpræcht had the consolation of founding a mission-house in Boston, which he placed under the patronage of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. The work of the missions was carried on with great vigor, and although only a limited number of Fathers could be spared for the work they nevertheless averaged every year from fifty to seventy missions.

Besides these three mission-houses three or rather four other houses were added to the Province under Father Helmpræcht's administration: St. James', in Baltimore, 1867; Ilchester, Md., 1868; Quebec, Can., 1875, and St. Boniface's, Philadelphia, 1876.

The old church of St. James', in Baltimore, which in 1841 had been transferred by Archbishop Eccleston to the Redemptorist Fathers for the use of the German Catholics, having become too small for that growing congregation, had to make room for a more spacious edifice. On that occasion a separate community of Fathers was assigned to this church, which until then had been served from St. Alphonsus'.

The following year Father Helmpræcht carried out the long-cherished desire of having the house of studies, located at Cumberland, Md., nearer to his residence at Baltimore, and purchased a delightful site at Ilchester, Md., thirteen miles from Baltimore, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

In 1874 another remarkable foundation was made in Que-

bec, Canada, where the Fathers took charge of St. Patrick's Church. As early as 1857 this mission had been offered by the Archbishop, but circumstances prevented the acceptance at that time.

In 1876, during Father Helmpræcht's term of office, the Redemptorist Fathers were requested by Archbishop J. Wood to take charge of St. Boniface's congregation in Philadelphia.

From Father Helmpræcht as Provincial the Fathers of New Orleans obtained permission to buy a country-seat at Chat-awa, Miss., where for some years a community of Fathers resided with a number of young men, either novices or aspirants. As the reward of his prudent administration Father Helmpræcht had the consolation of seeing his congregation flourish and expand more and more from year to year.

Particular mention must be made of another work of vital importance to the Order, which the energetic Superior called into existence, the Preparatory College, or Juvenate. For many years boys and young men of the parishes of the Redemptorist Fathers received elementary instruction in the classics from some of the Fathers, to fit them for admission into the novitiate. In 1867, seeing that young men from other places manifested the desire of entering the Congregation, Father Provincial established the so-called St. Alphonsus' Academy in Baltimore. This boarding school gradually developed into a regular college, being first transferred to St. James', Baltimore, in 1869. then, in 1872, to Ilchester, where a commodious building had been erected by Father Helmpræcht for the purpose. The majority of the present members of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer of the Baltimore Province, received their education at this institution which, in 1882, was transferred to North East, Pa.

In 1875 Father Helmpræcht obtained in Rome the long looked-for division of the American Province, whereby the houses at New Orleans, Chicago, St. Louis and Chatawa were formed into the separate Province of St. Louis; the Eastern houses constituted henceforth the Province of Baltimore.

With the expiration of the fourth term of office Father

Helmprecht was at last relieved of his heavy burden, and became rector of St. Michael's Church, Baltimore. Although as Provincial he had not exempted himself from taking part in the apostolic labors as far as his other duties permitted, now as local superior his zeal received a new impetus in the discharge of parochial duties. He took his turn in preaching, catechizing, attending to sick-calls, and other functions. He was most assiduous in the confessional, and generally said the late Mass, officiated as subdeacon at High Mass, and the like.

In 1880 he was appointed rector of the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer in New York. Here he made his final efforts to work for the salvation of souls. But his health and strength was failing, and he sighed for the hour of release. Often he would exclaim: "Oh, if I only could die as a simple subject!" His infirmities increased from day to day, until, at last, on May 28, 1884, the news arrived that he had received a successor, and might retire to his own cell. It was high time, indeed, for his malady became more severe and painful. Over six months of intense suffering were allotted to the good Father, in which to embellish his heavenly crown. He thanked God for the excruciating pain he endured, as for a special divine favor. The feast of the Immaculate Conception was at hand. He, therefore, begged his heavenly Mother to take him to heaven during her octave, and was so certain of seeing his ardent desire fulfilled that he was quite positive in saying he would die within said octave, and that he would die with no one at his bedside. The good brother infirmarian who attended him would not listen to the latter part of this assertion. The last day of the octave came, and as it was after ten o'clock at night, the same Brother expressed his doubt as to whether the Father would die as he had said. Thereupon Father Helmprecht was heard whispering: "Mother! Mother! Mother!" Then he said to the Brother: "If you will leave me, I think I can sleep a little." The Brother withdrew from the room. Looking in a little later he found the good Father dead; quite as when last seen alive. His words were fulfilled, he died within the Octave of the Immaculate Conception of the "Mother" he had

loved and served so well;—and he died *alone*, that is to say, without anybody being near. He had nearly completed the sixty-fifth year of his age. Such was the earthly career of this saintly priest and religious.

A few words about his inner life may not be amiss. Father Helmpræcht was pre-eminently a man of faith. That lively faith which he had imbibed, as it were, at his mother's breast, had become the guiding principle throughout his whole earthly pilgrimage, as was evident in his religious life. After a strict training in the novitiate, he never abandoned the maxims and rules he had learned as a novice. In order to be reminded of those minor practices inculcated during the novitiate, he had them posted in his room where he could easily see them, and it was noticed by close observers that he kept them as faithfully as a young novice. He was inflexible where religious observance was in question. Both as Provincial and as local superior he was never absent from any exercise of the community, unless prevented by severe sickness or some unavoidable business. Any infringement of the rules or any innovation seemed a crime in his eyes. For this reason he watched most carefully as local Superior and especially as Provincial, lest anything be introduced which might savor of luxury or weaken religious discipline, particularly in regard to the spirit of poverty.

That he was a man of prayer need scarcely be mentioned, for viewing everything with the eye of faith, he always walked in the presence of God, and thus prayer had become, as it were, the respiration of his soul. The holy sacrifice of the Mass, the daily meditations and the other spiritual exercises prescribed by the Rule were the nourishment of his soul. From these he drew his strength and courage in bearing the severe trials and hardships he was obliged to undergo.

His lively faith made him always recognize in his higher superiors the person of Jesus Christ. After he had been in Rome and had become personally acquainted with the saintly Rector Major, Father Nicholas Mauron, it was noticed by those who knew both Father Rector Major and Father Helmpræcht, how the latter endeavored to imitate the great kindness and

affability of the former, and, although always kind and forbearing, from that time Father Helmpræcht became kindness itself.

This lively faith engendered, moreover, an unbounded confidence of the divine goodness which is never confounded. We see this clearly in the courage with which he faced difficult undertakings and met embarrassing situations. Whenever he was convinced that an undertaking was sanctioned by obedience he firmly relied on the assistance of Divine Providence. This was especially the case with the new foundations, which he so successfully negotiated.

A most prominent trait of Father Helmpræcht's life was his great charity. Both in his quality as priest and as superior that virtue shone forth most brilliantly. As confessor he was much sought both by those whose conscience was heavily laden with guilt, and by those pious, but timid souls who need spiritual comfort and encouragement. This confidence of pious penitents was increased by the belief in his personal holiness, which was confirmed by favors which some persons claimed to have obtained through his prayers.

As superior he was admirably successful in rendering his subjects happy and contented. As already mentioned he would not exempt himself from any distasteful labor connected with the holy ministry. Such an example of practical charity and profound humility could not help but promote contentment and mutual charity in every community over which he presided. When, at times, a Father would complain to him of the difficulties he had with confrères or subjects, Father Helmpræcht would smilingly reply: "We must always take men as they are, not as they ought to be." At another time he would express his wonderment in seeing faults committed, and say: "And these men, nevertheless, are striving after perfection." Even their shortcomings could not lessen the good opinion he entertained of his brethren in religion. On one occasion he was asked why he as superior performed the office of prefect of the church himself, and his answer was, that thereby he would be able to prevent much unpleasantness among his subjects. On

another occasion he believed that he had spoken rather harshly to one of the Fathers; after a little while he came to this Father and kindly begged him to address a letter for him. Such conduct could not fail to endear him to his brethren and subjects.

Having been Superior for nearly thirty-six years, it would seem that he had little opportunity of practising blind obedience, but he was skilful not to be deprived of such a merit. Thus in sickness he was as submissive to the prefect of the sick and the infirmarian as a child would be to his mother.

His genuine humility manifested itself in many ways. Thus, for instance, he would listen with close attention to anything a confrère would relate, and appear as interested as if he had heard it for the first time. His patience as Superior was often put to the severest test. He had made the resolution not to deny himself to anyone that would call on him. It often happened that, when very busy, Fathers or Brothers would call on him and unduly prolong the conversation. But good Father Helmpræcht never gave as much as an outward sign of impatience.

All these virtues shone forth most brilliantly during his last illness. There his love of suffering, patience, childlike piety, humility and charity were witnessed by all who visited him. God permitted his sufferings to be aggravated by a kind of abandonment, since the Fathers were so engrossed in their ministerial duties that they scarcely found time to visit him in the sick-room. He bore this loneliness without murmur or a word of complaint. It is asserted that some signal favors were obtained after his death by persons imploring his intercession.

CAMPBELL, REV. JOHN.

Father Campbell, born in 1824 and ordained by Archbishop Hughes, August 17, 1854, was assistant at the Cathedral, 1854-55. He died in New York City, September 12, 1857.

McCARRON, REV. PETER.

Father McCarron, nephew of Archdeacon McCarron, who was born in County Monaghan, 1824, was educated at Fordham, and was ordained by Bishop Loughlin, January 21, 1854. He assisted at St. Mary's and at St. Joseph's, 1854-58, was transferred to Rondout for the sake of his health, and died there, January 9, 1858.

ROESCH, REV. JOSEPH.

Father Roesch, born in Carinthia, Austria, 1819, ordained by Bishop Gurk, 1844, came to America in 1854 with his brother George, also a priest, and later a Redemptorist. He had pastoral charge of Calicoon, Sullivan County, and its missions, in 1854. From 1855-56 he was pastor at Obernburg, Sullivan County, attending also the French settlement in Delaware County and several small stations in that district. In 1879-80, on account of his feeble health, he was relieved by Father Delvaux, and took up his residence with Father Kessler at St. Joseph's, Manhattanville. From February, 1881, to May, 1882, he was at St. Nicholas'. He died October 11, 1884, at St. Joseph's, and was buried October 14, at Obernburg. He was an enthusiastic botanist, and a priest of deep spirituality.

BRENNAN, REV. JAMES.

Father Brennan was raised to the priesthood by Bishop Loughlin, January 21, 1854, and was assistant at St. James' from 1854 to 1859, when he became pastor on the death of Father Thomas Martin, O.P. He was succeeded by Father Felix H. Farrelly in 1865, and left the diocese.

CLARK, FATHER.

Father Clark was assistant at St. James', 1854-56.

MANGIN, REV. C.

Father Mangin was chaplain to the Christian Brothers in Second street, 1861.

TISSOT, FATHER PETER, S.J.

Father Tissot, born in the village of Mègeve, Savoy, October 15, 1823, entered the Society of Jesus in France, October 10, 1842, and came to the United States in 1846. Most of his life was spent at St. John's College, Fordham, after his ordination chiefly as procurator. In 1860-61, he was engaged in the ministry in the parish of St. Francis Xavier, N.Y. During the Civil War he served as army chaplain with Fathers O'Reilly, Nash, Ouellet and Bruhl, all members of the New York and Canada Mission. He died at St. Francis Xavier's, June 19, 1875.

Father Tissot was the author of a little work on the Real Presence, and of another on the Scapular of Mount Carmel. He also translated Mgr. de Segur's treatise on Holy Communion. His diary as a chaplain in the United States Army will be found in the *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. III P. I, pp. 42-88.

O'CALLAGHAN, REV. BENJAMIN.

Father O'Callaghan, after his ordination by Bishop Loughlin for Archbishop Hughes, January 21, 1854, assisted at the Transfiguration till 1856. From 1857 to 1867 he was pastor at Goshen, where he was succeeded by Rev. H. S. O'Hare. From October 1867 to 1871, he was assistant at St. Gabriel's, and in 1872 at Mott Haven, with Father Hughes. From 1878 to 1891 he was at St. Stephen's. In the latter year he became pastor at Irvington, where he died Tuesday, April 10, 1894.

BALDARF, REV. FRANCIS J.

Father Baldarf was raised to the sub-diaconate by Bishop Loughlin, January 18, 1854, and to the priesthood by Archbishop Hughes, August 17, 1874. Soon thereafter he became assistant at St. John the Baptist's.

GOCKELN, REV. FREDERICK WILLIAM, S.J.

Father Gockeln was born near Paderborn, in Westphalia, Germany, November 8, 1820, and at the age of thirteen came to America. For a time he engaged in business in New York and later entered the Sulpician College, Montreal. Here he became acquainted with the Rev. John Larkin, a learned Sulpician, and five years later set out with him for the distant Jesuit mission of Kentucky. Father Gockeln was admitted to the noviceship there, February 16, 1841, some four months later than his companion, Father Larkin. During the scholastic year, 1845-46, came the removal of the members of the Kentucky mission to Fordham. Here Father Gockeln spent some months in the study of philosophy, but was sent in 1847 to finish his studies at Brugelette, Belgium. He was ordained in the early part of 1852, and on the termination of his third year of probation, in the house of Our Lady of Liesse, at Laon, was admitted to his last vows, February 2, 1854. On his return to America, Father Gockeln was employed for the eight ensuing years at St. Mary's, Montreal, St. John's, Fordham, and St. Francis Xavier's, N.Y., at one time as professor, at another as prefect of studies, but for the most part as chief disciplinarian. Then followed a seven years' experience of missionary life at Guelph and Chatham, Canada. In 1868, he returned to Fordham as vice-president, and at the close of the term was sent as minister to the scholasticate at Woodstock, Md. In the following year he was at St. Lawrence's, New York City, assisting in the parish, and then as superior from August 1871 until June 25, 1874, when he became president of St. John's College, Fordham, retaining this responsible post till the summer of 1882.

From Fordham Father Gockeln was sent as prefect of studies to Holy Cross College, Worcester. Subsequently, he was for a short time parish priest at St. Peter's, Jersey City, and finally, on the death of Father Cleary in 1884, he was made Superior of St. Joseph's, Providence, where he died piously, November 26, 1886.

THE CROSSDRUM CHALICE.

BY THOMAS GAFFNEY TAAFFE, PH.D.

IT is a far cry, in more senses than one, from the day of religious persecution in the seventeenth century in Ireland to the day of religious freedom in the twentieth century in America. But the two periods are curiously linked by the Crossdrum Chalice, a relic of the Cromwellian persecutions in Ireland, now in the possession of the Reverend James A. Taaffe, S.J., of Fordham University, New York. The chalice is a small silver vessel, less than seven inches in height, of graceful proportions, with a hexagonal base. Three of the sides of the base bear symbolic decorations, crudely etched. The front shows a figure of the Crucifixion from which the cross is curiously omitted, surrounded by the instruments of the Passion and surmounted by an oddly conceived moon and stars. One of the sides shows a device representing a branch with acorns growing on it; the device on the other side is more difficult to classify. Around the base is the inscription in the quaint lettering of the period: "*Ora pro Stephano Cooke et Elizabetha ejus uxore et Maria filia 1635.*" (Pray for Stephen Cooke and Elizabeth his wife and Mary his daughter.) The word "pro," in the inscription, is almost obliterated, and the chasing at one spot on the boss is almost worn away by the contact of the thumbs of many celebrants in the elevation of the chalice; and the rim of the base at the back is worn completely away. The paten, which has been preserved with the chalice, bears the inscription "I H S" in the centre, and a very simple decoration around the edge. The trade-mark of the maker is so worn away that it is illegible. The antiquity of this relic, and the fact that, with one exception, it is the oldest chalice in the country, would invest it with a deal of interest, but it has an historic interest far greater than any which attaches to it merely from its great



THE CROSSDRUM CHALICE.



THE CROSSDRUM CHALICE — ETCHINGS ON THE BASE.

seems to have brought with it in most cases a guarantee of longevity, for the Reverend George Leonard, Father McDermot's nephew, and successor in the pastorate of Oldcastle, to whom he bequeathed it, lived to be eighty-five years old. He studied at Maynooth and was ordained in 1818. He succeeded his uncle in 1832 and during the forty-five years of his pastorate never spent a night outside his parish, except while on retreat. He died in 1877, and the chalice became the property of his nephew, the Reverend Thomas Fagan, Parish Priest of Turin, or Rathconnell, County Westmeath. Father Fagan was a member of a family which has long been prominently identified with the history of the Church in Meath and Westmeath. The Fagans of Corboy, of whom he was one, and the Fagans of Castlepollard, to whom they were related, have furnished in every generation for centuries many priests both for home and foreign missions. Father Fagan was one of three brothers who were ordained to the priesthood.

Father Fagan's death in 1886, sent the chalice to America, for his only immediate living relative in the priesthood was his nephew, the Very Reverend Thomas J. Gaffney, of Rutland, Vt. And the story of its coming and the attendant circumstances—its passing temporarily from the possession of the family, the quest for its recovery and the characteristic vigor with which Father Gaffney pursued that quest—invest it with a new interest. It had been Father Fagan's intention to leave the chalice to another nephew, who, however, died before he entered into Holy Orders. Father Fagan left practically no property and when his funeral expenses were paid nothing remained but the chalice. His administrator, knowing nothing of its history and its intimate connection with the family, for Father Fagan was a secretive man, turned it over to another priest. Relatives of Father Gaffney informed him of this and, without losing time in correspondence, he set sail for Ireland to secure possession of it. But the priest who held it knew its historic value and refused to yield it up. Father Gaffney argued and pleaded and even offered to replace it with the finest chalice the goldsmith's art could furnish, but in vain. Those who knew Father

Gaffney in life can picture the force and the vigor with which he prosecuted his claim; he must have been a strong man, indeed, to have held his own against him. But he did and Father Gaffney came away disappointed. On his way home, however, he told the circumstances to the vicar-general of the diocese, an old friend of his uncle's, who assured him that the matter would be adjusted. Some time after Father Gaffney's return the vicar-general had occasion to visit the other priest and in the course of conversation the chalice was produced for inspection. Putting it back in its case the vicar-general took possession of it, informing his astonished host that he intended to deliver it to its rightful owner, Father Gaffney. He wrote immediately to Vermont, asking how the chalice should be sent. The answer came by cable: "Don't send it," and that night Father Gaffney informed his curate that he was leaving home for a few weeks. He took the night train to New York and took ship the next morning for Queenstown. He went directly to his friend, the vicar-general, secured the chalice and took the next boat home to America. He would trust the precious relic to no other hands but his own. He was home in Rutland before anyone knew the object of his journey. Thenceforth, until his death, September 12, 1906, on every St. Patrick's Day he celebrated Mass with the little chalice. In his will he bequeathed it to his nephew, the Reverend James A. Taaffe, S.J., in whose possession it is now. Father Taaffe had been ordained less than three months before, at Woodstock, Md.

Such is the history of the chalice since its discovery in the knapsack of the dead and forgotten priest. But curiosity is naturally aroused as to its previous history and the identity of its original possessor. Whose was the skeleton found in the cave at Crossdrum? There was nothing about the remains to give a clue and the field for conjecture is wide. The records of the parish of Kilbride which Dean Cogan has collated in his history of the Diocese of Meath seem to throw some light on the matter. He tells us that in the early part of the seventeenth century and during the Cromwellian régime the Reverend Robert Plunket was pastor of Kilbride. He quotes from Dr.

Moran's "Memoir of Dr. Oliver Plunket" the following passage from a letter, written by Dr. Plunket, while Bishop of Meath, to the Secretary of the Propaganda, dated Killiney, June 2, 1669:

"I propose to you (as Coadjutor of Kilmore) a person renowned for his learning and piety, who during the persecution of Cromwell never abandoned the sheep entrusted to his charge. For six years he dwelt by day in the caverns and rocks, and by night offered the Holy Sacrifice and refreshed the scattered flock. His name is Robert Plunket, Pastor of Kilbride, and son of the Baron of Lockriff (Loughcrew), not far from the diocese of Kilmore."

Dean Cogan has discovered records of the deaths and places of burial of nearly all the pastors of Kilbride and the neighboring parishes, but of Father Plunket all he can say is that he "seems to have rested from his labours soon after this date"² (1669). It would seem, then, that he disappeared. But the date 1669 corresponds roughly to the date indicated by the tradition that was alive in the neighborhood when the skeleton was discovered in the middle of the following century. Moreover, we see by the Blessed Oliver's letter that "for six years he dwelt by day in the caverns and rocks." It cannot be denied that this narrative suggests that the remains found in the cave may have been those of Father Plunket. Dean Cogan himself seems inclined to believe that there is some connection, for he appends to his meagre record of Father Plunket a footnote in which he tells of the discovery of the skeleton. Presumably he felt that as his work is largely a compilation of records, he could hardly declare as a matter of history that the skeleton was that of Father Plunket; but his mention of the discovery in this connection inclines one to the belief that he attaches some significance to it. Apparently, however, he did not know of the association of this chalice with the cave at Crossdrum, for he mentions it elsewhere, in his account of the parish of Oldcastle, without any comment except on its great age.³

² "The Diocese of Meath," vol. II, p. 317.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 339.

The chalice and paten, still in the tattered poplin bag and the rude metal outer case in which they were found, are all that remain. Father Reilly kept them until his death, in 1782, when they passed to his nephew, the Reverend Owen Reilly, who was also his curate. Father Owen did not long survive his uncle. He died in 1784 and the one grave of the two priests in the churchyard at Killeagh is marked by a monument erected by Hugh Reilly, the brother of one and the father of the other.

Who was the next possessor of the chalice is a matter of some doubt. There is a question whether it went directly to the Reverend George McDermot, a relative of the Reilly family, who was curate at Kilskyre and afterwards pastor at Kilbeg and Oldcastle, or came to him through his uncle, the Reverend Dr. Patrick McDermot, of Castletown-Kilpatrick. It is not certain that Father George McDermot was ordained at the time of Father Reilly's death, although it is probable that he was. He was a student in the Irish College at Nantes in 1780, for his name appears among the signers of an address from the Meath students at Nantes to Bishop Plunket in that year. He was appointed to Kilbeg in 1785 and transferred to Oldcastle in 1787. If it be true that it passed through the hands of Dr. Patrick McDermot it has acquired an added distinction. Dr. McDermot was a notable man. He was famous no less for his scholarship than for his distinguished services both in France and Ireland. He was born in Ardraccan, in 1703, and lived to be 111 years old. It is recorded of him that he celebrated Mass in Oldcastle at the age of 108 years. He was educated and ordained in France, served there on the mission, and was a chaplain in the Irish Brigade of the French army at the battle of Fontenoy. He later returned to Ireland to labor among his own people in the parishes of Grangegeith, Drumconrath, Nobber and Castletown-Kilpatrick. He died in 1814.¹

The next possessor of the chalice, the Reverend George McDermot, was a native of Navan, and died, while parish priest at Oldcastle, in 1832, at the age of seventy-five years. The chalice

¹ "The Diocese of Meath;" Rev. A. Cogan (Dublin, 1867), vol II, p. 285.

Moran's "Memoir of Dr. Oliver Plunket" the following passage from a letter, written by Dr. Plunket, while Bishop of Meath, to the Secretary of the Propaganda, dated Killiney, June 2, 1669:

"I propose to you (as Coadjutor of Kilmore) a person renowned for his learning and piety, who during the persecution of Cromwell never abandoned the sheep entrusted to his charge. For six years he dwelt by day in the caverns and rocks, and by night offered the Holy Sacrifice and refreshed the scattered flock. His name is Robert Plunket, Pastor of Kilbride, and son of the Baron of Lockriff (Loughcrew), not far from the diocese of Kilmore."

Dean Cogan has discovered records of the deaths and places of burial of nearly all the pastors of Kilbride and the neighboring parishes, but of Father Plunket all he can say is that he "seems to have rested from his labours soon after this date"² (1669). It would seem, then, that he disappeared. But the date 1669 corresponds roughly to the date indicated by the tradition that was alive in the neighborhood when the skeleton was discovered in the middle of the following century. Moreover, we see by the Blessed Oliver's letter that "for six years he dwelt by day in the caverns and rocks." It cannot be denied that this narrative suggests that the remains found in the cave may have been those of Father Plunket. Dean Cogan himself seems inclined to believe that there is some connection, for he appends to his meagre record of Father Plunket a footnote in which he tells of the discovery of the skeleton. Presumably he felt that as his work is largely a compilation of records, he could hardly declare as a matter of history that the skeleton was that of Father Plunket; but his mention of the discovery in this connection inclines one to the belief that he attaches some significance to it. Apparently, however, he did not know of the association of this chalice with the cave at Crossdrum, for he mentions it elsewhere, in his account of the parish of Oldcastle, without any comment except on its great age.³

² "The Diocese of Meath," vol. II, p. 317.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 339.

But another question presents itself and demands an answer. Who were Stephen Cooke and Elizabeth his wife and Mary their daughter, whose pious wish to be remembered in the Sacrifice of the Mass is being gratified to-day, after nearly three centuries? It would be interesting to identify them, if it were at all possible. The presentation of a chalice suggests the possible commemoration of the ordination of a priest, and if the record could be found of the ordination of a priest of that name in 1635, we might be justified in assuming a connection. Cooke is an English name and, naturally, one turns to Douai, the nursery of seventeenth century English priests. In the "First Diary" of the English College at Douai we find a "List of Priests Ordained (1573-1632)." This list ends three years before the date on the chalice, but we find among those who were ordained on September 23, 1628, "Jacobus Prince, hic Gulielmus Coocke, Lincolniensis." The same entry appears under the date of November 30, 1628, on a "List of Priests Sent to the English Mission (1574-1644)." Among the documents appended to the First Diary is "the oath taken by students on the foundation, with the names of those who took this oath (1627-1653)," and here again under date of April 20, 1628, the same name appears, although here it is spelt "Cooke."⁴

It would, perhaps, be straining credulity to base a theory on so slight a foundation as this, but when one is groping utterly in the dark it may, at least, serve as ground for conjecture. It might be argued against this suggestion that even if it were warranted it is hardly likely that the chalice would have found its way to Ireland. Moreover, though the name Cooke is English rather than Irish, that fact has no significance, for long before 1635 English names had become common in Ireland, and their bearers had become "more Irish than the Irish themselves." There were Cookes aplenty in Ireland, even in Meath, at that time. But none of the Meath Cookes would have been likely to be the giver of a chalice. They were Cromwellians and hardly to be suspected of encouraging Popish ir-

⁴ "Records of English Catholics. First and Second Diaries of Douay," Thomas Francis Knox, D.D., of the Oratory (London, 1878).

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⁴ "Records of English Catholics. First and Second Diaries of Douay," Thomas Francis Knox, D.D., of the Oratory (London, 1878).

regularities. But there were other Cookes of an earlier wave of immigration. O'Callaghan says⁵ that the Cooke family settled in Ireland in the century after the Norman Invasion. O'Hart⁶ agrees with him with respect to the thirteenth century, and adds that they came from Norfolk in the train of Roger de Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. While he makes this general statement, O'Hart is unable to trace the family farther back than 1690, when he finds that John Cooke, of Carlow, was an officer in a regiment of horse in the army of King James II. After the accession of King William his estates were confiscated and the family went to Connaught. These circumstances establish the religious and political affiliations of the Cookes of Carlow and make it possible, at least, that Stephen Cooke was of their blood. If this be true, a curious coincidence is worth noting. According to O'Hart, a grandson of this John Cooke became a priest and subsequently became Parish Priest at Ballymote. And Ballymote is the seat of the principal line of the family of the present possessor of the chalice, the head of the family, Count Taaffe, of Austria, still retaining his Irish title of Baron of Ballymote.

All this conjecture, of course, leads to nothing definite. The history of the chalice since its discovery at Crossdrum, and the fact that it served through the troublous days of the Cromwellian persecution are beyond question, but to attempt to establish positively, either the identity of the dead priest or of Stephen Cooke is a futile undertaking. As a matter of curious speculation, however, it has, at least, the merit of unique interest. One fact, though, is beyond peradventure. The chalice is a rich and priceless treasure, a relic to be venerated by all who prize their faith and glory to hear the record of the sufferings and the sacrifices of their fathers to preserve that faith in the time of persecution.

⁵ "History of the Irish Brigade."

⁶ "Irish Pedigrees" (Dublin, 1892), vol. II, p. 132.—"Irish Landed Gentry" (Dublin, 1884), p. 45.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE SOCIETY OF ST.
VINCENT DE PAUL IN THE UNITED STATES
UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF NEW YORK.

WRITTEN IN 1884 BY L. T. JAMME.

To the thoughtful observer it is evident that the love of God for man is ever watchful and indirectly exercised for his welfare, both spiritual and temporal, notwithstanding the free will given to the creature to shape his career through life, for better or for worse, in proportion to his observance or neglect of the commandments of God and of the laws of nature established by Him.

When man, giving unbridled license to his passions and brutal appetites, looked upon his fellow as a means to his gratification, regardless of the wrongs he inflicted, God sent His Son to teach the proper relation of man to man by word and example. The result was a check to brutality, wherever the disciples of Christ were allowed to carry out the inspired teaching of their divine Master.

As time rolled by and the spread of Christianity increased, the old enemy brought in new issues to defeat, if it were possible, the beneficent action of divine Providence; and selfishness, ambition, jealousy, and tyranny again assumed a powerful sway over men, even over men professing to be Christians.

But at every turn we find the love of God active; at every critical period He endows some of His faithful disciples with power to enlist active sympathy for the performance of well-conceived efforts to alleviate the sufferings of their fellow men. Thus, for instance, we see that when the art of printing had reached a point which allowed the diffusion of reading matter among the masses, and when education to the poor had become a necessity, De la Salle appeared, and by his zeal and devotion, schools for the people were established, and his labors resulted in the numerous flourishing schools, academies, and colleges

found wherever the Catholic Church exists. In fact the only obstacle to still greater development is the inadequate number of capable workmen in this fruitful vineyard of the Lord.

Next we see as a result of the devastating wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a relaxation of the sympathy of man for man, increasing poverty, and numberless orphans scarcely cared for or even looked upon as creatures of God and in many large cities left to perish from want. Then it was that God sent another apostle of His divine love, to cultivate and revive the neglected flower of charity and love for our neighbor, St. Vincent de Paul. His efforts and the charitable institutions he established are now the admiration of all mankind. At the time when Socialism began to rear its head in France, and when its promoters were insidiously instilling into the minds of the working-classes angry feelings toward the rich and hatred toward the clergy, a few noble young students combined to devise ways and means to combat this new evil by personally visiting and relieving the distress of the poor abounding in their city. This was only a revival, under lay auspices, of the conferences of the clergy—established long before by St. Vincent de Paul for the same object—with the wealthy men and women of his time—to provide for the foundling, the orphan, the old, the sick, and the poor.

1833

This humble beginning of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris in the year 1832-33 became the rallying-point for good and true men throughout the land. Gradually in every city and town of France similar conferences were organized by laymen, having for special object the relief of the poor and the care of their children, by personal visits, at which good advice and material aid were given them and interest shown for the welfare of the growing generation—and this done by a class of men who were believed to be enemies of the poor and the workingman, or indifferent to their condition.

The Society spread throughout Europe, where the class it aims to benefit is large, notwithstanding the efforts made by Governments to diminish its number. In our country the

steadily increasing immigration multiplied the unfortunate or the impoverished, and when sickness was added to their other trials the Christian's heart was often sorely pained and his ingenuity taxed to stem the tide of growing misery. The good accomplished in Europe by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul

1846

had become known to many, and in 1846 the attempt was made in New York City, in the then Cathedral parish of St. Patrick's, to organize a Conference which could be affiliated to the parent Society in Paris. It was not only for the material relief of the Catholic poor that the Society of St. Vincent de Paul was organized here. It had also in view to guard poor Catholics, old and young, against efforts of Protestant societies which aimed covertly at the destruction of the faith of our poor children by taking possession of them, withdrawing them not only from the influence of their parents (which in many cases was in itself praiseworthy) but also from those who could preserve in their souls the true faith of their Baptism.

The first Conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in New York City was held in St. Patrick's parish; the gentlemen who met came from that and three other parishes. It was intended, after working together for a while, to establish Conferences in these other parishes. This Conference was regularly affiliated to the Society in Paris in 1846. In 1848, through the initiative of a gentleman who had belonged to the St. Vincent de Paul Society in Europe, a Conference was established

1856
Particular Council
of New York
City

regularly in Utica. In 1856 the Conferences of St. Joseph's and St. Peter's parishes were established, and in order to bind these Conferences closely together, so as to insure uniformity of action outside of the regular work defined by the rules, a Particular Council was established in this city, composed of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the Conferences regularly aggregated to the parent Society in Paris. Through this Council correspondence was established with all the dioceses in the United States, with a view to the spread of the Society in all Catholic centers of population.

1857

In 1857 the Conference of St. Francis Xavier, New York, and a Conference in Jersey City were formed, and Brooklyn also moved in the work, but preferred, for reasons of its own, to communicate directly with the General Council in Paris, and has continued to do so.

1858
First efforts towards a Protectory for children

In 1858 the progress was more marked; five Conferences in New York were aggregated, and Philadelphia, Albany, Seneca Falls, Rochester, Buffalo, Louisville, and Milwaukee established Conferences, so that twenty Conferences were in existence at this

period. It was in 1858 that the New York City Conferences felt the necessity for concerted action in behalf of the children of their poor. As early as April of that year resolutions were adopted by the Particular Council, and a committee named to wait upon the ecclesiastical authorities to enlist their active support for the establishment of a "House of Protection for Destitute Catholic Children." The time, however, did not seem to have arrived for carrying out the project, and for five years more our poor children were more or less at the mercy of the

1863
Protectory established

Children's Aid Society. It was not till 1863 when, the evil having become intolerable, the persistent efforts of the President (Dr. Anderson) and the Vice-President of the Council were successful, and the active cooperation of His Grace the Archbishop culminated in the establishment of the House of Protection in Eighth-sixth Street, which became the Catholic Protectory at Westchester—thanks, under divine Providence, to the good management of the gentlemen having its interests in hand, so ably seconded by the Sisters of Charity and the Christian Brothers who have the immediate charge of the children committed to their care.

Handall's Island Mission

It was in the same year—1858—that the Particular Council of New York made efforts to withdraw the Catholic children from the influence of the Children's Aid Society, and steps were taken to assist more effectually the Jesuit Father

who was allowed to visit the children taken care of by the city on Randall's Island. A committee was named to take the matter in hand. It succeeded in obtaining from the good sense and fairness of the city Government, permission to celebrate Mass and to teach Catechism, at a specified time on Sundays, to the Catholic children. These children were no longer required to attend the Protestant religious exercises. The Randall's Island Committee, while making these changes, caused no friction in carrying out their work and practically refuted the allegations of the authorities of the Juvenile Asylum, who stubbornly opposed all efforts made to obtain the same facilities for the separate religious instruction of the Catholic children committed to its care.

1859
Institution of
Superior Council
of New York

In 1859 four more Conferences were regularly organized in New York City, and one each in Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Newark, Jersey City, Pittsburg and Dubuque; five in Philadelphia, five in New Orleans, adding thus twenty-two Conferences to the Society. The growing number of Conferences in this country, together with the probability of further accessions, so increased the labors of the Council General in Paris that the time had arrived for placing the government of the Society in the United States under the care of a Superior Council. To achieve this end the Council General requested the Particular Council of New York to consult all the Conferences, and these having readily yielded to the instructions of the Particular Council of New York, to whose efforts in fact they owed their existence, gave their consent for the establishment of a Superior Council in New York, which would be invested with the government of the Society in this country under sanction of the Council General in Paris and subject to its rulings. The consent was obtained from all the conferences excepting those in Brooklyn, which still preferred to act independently under the immediate control of the Council in Paris. Consequently, early in the year 1860, the Superior Council of New York was established, and was regularly authorized to govern the Society as stated above, in the

territory east of the Mississippi and west of the Missouri River. The City of St. Louis already possessed a Council governing some fourteen Conferences in the State of Missouri; it preferred to maintain its autonomy, although acting in amicable concert with the Council of New York.

1860

In this year of 1860, New York City, Albany, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Dubuque, and St. Paul each added one Conference to the number previously existing. Philadelphia added three and Washington two, making altogether eleven new Conferences. Particular Councils were established in Albany, Philadelphia, and Pittsburg.

1861

In 1861 the progress was not so rapid; only one Conference was organized in this city, one in Louisville, and three in Chicago. Particular Councils were established in Washington and Louisville. The progress was equally slow in 1862; three more Conferences were organized in New York City, two in Philadelphia, one each in Boston, St. Paul, Washington, and Louisville.

1863

Little Sisters
of the Poor

In 1863, Utica, Syracuse, and Alleghany City added one Conference each. Brooklyn had then seven Conferences united to its own Council, and St. Louis fourteen Conferences with its Superior Council, all actively engaged in the good work.

Christian Sol-
dier's Manual

The dark days of the war for the Union were upon us; the armies on both sides comprised many Catholic soldiers, and a great need of proper reading matter for the well in camp and prisons, and the sick and wounded in the hospitals was felt. An appeal was made to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul to relieve this want. Collections of good reading matter were made; everywhere booksellers, publishers, and newspapers were all willing to respond generously to the appeals made them, and many cases of books were forwarded to the proper localities. A neat, portable book called *The Christian Soldier's Manual* was published by the Society, and thousands of copies were distributed among the soldiers scattered over the country in camps, hos-

pitals, and prisons. The clergy assisted the Society most earnestly in this work.

The better care of old and destitute men and women had all along been an object of much solicitude to the members of the various Conferences, and in discussing this matter at one of the Council meetings, the question was asked: "Is it possible to settle English-speaking Little Sisters of the Poor in our large cities, to meet this want?" This suggestion was acted upon. How to work it out was the problem. About that time the constant friend of the Society, Archbishop Hughes, was going to Europe. He was to visit Paris, and might bring this project to the consideration of the Mother House of the Little Sisters, and by his well-known persuasive powers he might be able to carry out the wish of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Consequently it was decided that he be waited upon by the Spiritual Director of the Society in New York City, accompanied by the President of the Council, and the matter laid before him. His Grace at once appreciated the case and promised to do what he could to induce the Little Sisters of the Poor to come to the United States. He did so. The spiritual adviser and procurator of the Sisters was sent over to examine into the feasibility and probable success of the venture. We all know the result in the numerous Houses now existing and thriving, where old and destitute men and women are so well and so devotedly cared for by these admirable Religious.

Up to this time—1863—the Society had not considered it worth while to publish anything concerning itself beyond the annual written reports sent yearly to the Council General in Paris, as called for by the rules. There was, however, a growing desire manifested by the various Councils to circulate the yearly result of the work done and the condition of the Society among the members only. This desire was submitted to the Council General in Paris, and permission was obtained for the Superior Council of New York to publish such annual reports for circulation among the members, confining itself to the work done and to be done, and to instructions for the advancement and better government of the Conference. The first printed

1864
First printed
reports

report was that containing the statistics for the year 1864. Meanwhile, in order to consolidate the efforts of the Society and at the suggestion of the Council General in Paris,

the Superior Council of New York called a general assembly of representatives from every Council and Conference in the United States for the purpose of becoming personally acquainted, and of conferring together on matters appertaining to the Society, its condition and its better government, in conformity with the rules sanctioned by the Holy Father. This first general assembly was held in New York in September, 1864, and continued for three days. The Very Rev. Vicar General of New York presided. The Very Rev. Vicar General of Brooklyn and ten reverend Spiritual Directors of Conferences in Washington, Chicago, and New York City also honored the meetings with their presence. Besides the Superior Council of New York, whose President directed the proceedings, ten Particular Councils and seventy-one Conferences were represented.

1865
Second General
Assembly

In September of the following year—1865—the second general assembly was called to complete the work proposed and outlined at the previous year's meeting. It was still more fully attended. The clergy again honored it with their presence: the Most Rev. Archbishop of New York, the Bishops of Brooklyn, Chicago, and Newark; the Vicars General of New York and Brooklyn, and seven spiritual directors of Conferences from Newark, Baltimore, and New York.

The Superior Council of St. Louis joined in the proceedings; all the Particular Councils, eleven in number at the time, including that of Brooklyn, and one hundred and one Conferences composing the Society in the United States, were all represented. It was a most encouraging and satisfactory gathering, and from that day to this a lively interest has been shown by the members in all the works of the Society. The number of Conferences has increased, as well as the zeal and activity of the members for the welfare of the poor.

The first printed report of the Society was issued in the year 1864; it shows the growth of the Society, which numbered one Conference with some twenty members in 1846.

The number of Conferences under the jurisdiction of the Superior Council of New York was now..... 64
 The number of Particular Councils in as many localities where more than one Conference existed was..... 9
 The number of active members was..... 3,529
 The number of poor families visited by the members during the year 1864 was..... 4,871
 The number of visits made by members to these poor families was71,812
 No record had been kept of boys attending Sunday-school at which members assisted in teaching.

The amount of money contributed by members and collected by them from various sources was.....\$68,716
 The amount expended during the same year in food, fuel, clothing, tuition, etc., was.....\$61,362

In the above résumé of that year's work the following is the share of the City of New York:

Number of Conferences 20
 Number of active members..... 210
 Number of poor families relieved..... 2,099
 Number of visits made them.....44,623
 Amount of money contributed and collected by members\$37,767
 Amount of money distributed in food, fuel, clothing, tuition, etc.\$32,567

These figures prove more eloquently than words can tell the zeal and activity shown by the members.

1869
 St. Vincent's
 Home for Boys,
 now the Mission
 of the Immaculate Virgin

In the year 1869 the Conferences of New York noticed the good results obtained by the Children's Aid Society in its endeavors to provide for a class of children well-known to all of us—the newsboys and bootblacks, whose moral training needs especially to be looked after. In this class,

Catholic children predominate. The Particular Council, after carefully considering the matter, appointed a committee to gather reliable data upon which it could decide whether it was practicable for the Conferences of New York to undertake the establishment of one or more lodging-houses in which could be accommodated newsboys, bootblacks and other poor boys who had better be removed from the bad influences of depraved parents. The result was the establishment of the St. Vincent de Paul lodging-house in Warren Street in the summer of 1870. After having been in successful operation for two years, it clearly demonstrated its power for good. Like most of the works of the Society, it passed under the management of a zealous priest selected by the Society, after consultation with its spiritual advisers. The St. Vincent de Paul lodging-house has grown to be the Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, so ably managed by the Rev. Father Drumgoole. Until the year 1876 the events deserving special notice were few and somewhat cosmopolitan in their nature. The assembling of the Ecumenical Council in Rome seemed a proper occasion for the Society to

Address to Pope Pius IX.

show its attachment to the Head of the Church; consequently an address expressing the devotion of all the members of the Society in the United States to the Supreme Pontiff was prepared by the Superior Council of New York, to which were appended the names of all the Councils and Conferences and of their officers. This address was appropriately engrossed, illuminated, and bound. It was presented to the Holy Father by the President of the Council of New York then in Rome, and his acknowledgment, which he graciously condescended to give in writing, was by a happy coincidence dated on the anniversary of our national independence, July 4, 1870.

Superior Council of New Orleans instituted
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At the solicitation of the Superior Council of New York, the Council General in Paris instituted the Superior Council of New Orleans and placed the territory west of the Mississippi River, south of Missouri, under the jurisdiction of this new Council, thus lightening the already great

labors and responsibility of the Superior Council of New York.

In 1871 the immense calamity caused by the fire in Chicago, and by the German invasion of France, aroused the sympathy and zeal of the Society in the United States. As early as 1868 it had tried successfully to do something for the sufferers from yellow fever in New Orleans, when it collected and sent \$2,100.

Special collections for relief of outside destitution

Emboldened by this result the Council of New York again appealed to the various Conferences under its jurisdiction, and the result was a collection of \$2,500 for the Chicago sufferers, remitted to the Bishop for distribution; and \$4,100 sent to the Council General in Paris for the relief of the poor visited by the Conferences of France. In 1874, the floods in the southwest causing very great distress in the Mississippi district, the appeal of the New Orleans Council was met by the Council of New York with a collection of \$1,100.

1875
Death of
Dr. Anderson

In 1875 the Society had to deplore the loss of its first President in the United States—Dr. Henry James Anderson, President of the Superior as well as of the Particular Councils of New York, a man whose memory remains dear to all true Vincentians. He died at Lahore, India, where he had gone to make scientific researches, in which pursuits he was profoundly interested.

1876
Third General
Assembly

In 1876 the Society celebrated the thirtieth year of its existence by holding its third general assembly. This year also was celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. As was most appropriate to the time, the assembly of the St. Vincent de Paul Society was held in Philadelphia. It was well attended, and productive of much good for the management of the Conferences. The progress made by the Society during the thirty years of its existence is fully set forth in the report published that year.

Number of Conferences under the Council of New York	204
Of this number, however, only 192 had reported, and they stated an active membership of.....	5,622
Families visited and relieved.....	14,075
Visits made to these families.....	172,433
Number of boys attending Sunday-schools.....	37,799
Amount of money contributed by members and collected by them from all sources.....	\$154,706
Amount distributed to poor families in food, fuel, clothing, tuition, etc.....	\$157,303
The share of the City of New York in the above figures is:	
Number of Conferences.....	35
Active members	991
Poor families visited and relieved.....	5,400
Visits made to these families.....	69,385
Boys attending Sunday-school.....	9,124
Amount contributed and collected.....	\$57,576
Amount expended	\$60,993

The cities of Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Albany, Washington, Baltimore, Newark, and Providence, rank next in point of distress calling for active zeal on the part of the Society. In the year 1878 the ravages caused by the yellow fever in the Southern States bordering on the Mississippi River, aroused the active sympathy of all the Conferences under the Superior Council of New York, and its appeal for aid was generously responded to even by the Conferences in Ireland. The Conferences in the United States contributed \$4,100 and those in Ireland sent through the Superior Council of Dublin \$1,000. Little did our generous brethren in Ireland think at that time how sorely pressed they would be to assist the distress in their own country the succeeding year, but their American brethren did not forget them, and in the year 1878 the Particular Council of New York remitted to that of Dublin \$7,700.

1833—1883 Golden Jubilee

The next event of note in the life of the Society was the celebration of its Golden Jubilee, that is to say, the fiftieth year of its

establishment in Paris. Upon the invitation of the Council General in Paris the Superior Council of New York issued a circular letter to all the Councils and Conferences under its jurisdiction, calling their attention to this fact and asking them to join in this celebration each in its own locality, conforming as nearly as possible with the exercises to be followed in Paris. The request was unanimously acceded to, and no doubt the memory of this celebration will be lasting in the minds of all the Vincentians in the United States.

With this year, 1883, closes this brief notice of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the United States under the jurisdiction of the Superior Council of New York. The foregoing statistics have shown its gradual growth from one Conference in New York City to two hundred and fifty-four Conferences, giving the following results in 1883:

Number of Conferences	254
Number of Conferences reporting.....	235
Number of active members on rolls.....	5,430
Number of families visited and relieved.....	12,121
Number of visits made to these families.....	125,962
Number of boys attending Sunday-schools where mem- bers assist in teaching.....	41,722
Amount collected and contributed by members.....	\$127,178
Amount expended on families in food, fuel, clothing, tuition, etc.	\$127,502

Of this result the share of New York City Conferences is found to be as follows:

Number of Conferences.....	46
Number of active members.....	1,065
Number of families visited and relieved.....	5,276
Number of visits made to these families.....	47,781
Number of boys in Sunday-schools where members as- sist in teaching.....	12,741
Receipts from all sources.....	\$42,769
Expenditures	\$44,488

It is certainly a sad thought that our country, yet so young, should already suffer from so much poverty, and should show so many people in need of help, but with God's never failing assistance let us hope that the Society of St. Vincent de Paul will continue true to its rules and to its mission of love and charity in behalf of the needy.

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA.

SINCE the establishment of the hierarchy somewhat more than a hundred years ago there are many notable things to chronicle in the extraordinary progress of the Catholic Church within the limits of the United States. Where there was but one bishop then, ruling over a handful of priests and a flock which was an almost negligible part of the new born nation's population, now there are well nigh an hundred mitred shepherds, thousands of priests and millions of Catholics, alert, resourceful, claiming and wielding their full share in the life of the Republic. In all departments of progress Catholics from the beginning have made substantial contributions. Now, with their steady growth in numbers and the multiplication of educational opportunities, they are having no inconsiderable part in the literary output of the country. As a manifestation of this it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the publication this year of the Catholic Encyclopedia, the first volume of which lies before us as we write. It is a far cry from Mathew Carey's quarto Bible of 1790 to the ambitious programme of the Catholic Encyclopedia. The interval to be sure has not been without its notable products of Catholic authorship, but it is not too much to say that the appearance of the work we are noticing marks a distinct epoch in the Catholic history of our country. An enterprise of this sort, conceived, fostered, and financed in the United States, requiring for its successful conduct the drafting of scholars and specialists such as are found in the list of editors and contributors seems to spell progress in a very measurable degree for the Catholic body in this country. When the project was first announced, high hopes were entertained by those who thought the time was ripe for such a presentation of the Catholic cause to the English-speaking world. It is immensely more than a conventional

judgment to say these hopes have been most fully realized with the coming out of the first volume. The qualities of up-to-date scholarship, painstaking and minute research, and fearless and impartial statement, without which works of this kind cannot claim any authority, are everywhere conspicuous in the volume. Catholic scholars of unquestioned standing in all parts of the world have been laid under contribution for the making of the book. Hence whilst its origin and promotion are American its character is in an important sense international. The articles on Alaska, Albany, Arizona, and America will doubtless possess a more than ordinary interest for the readers of *Records and Studies*. Where there is so much that is deserving of unstinted praise, it will still perhaps not be deemed invidious to point out that an undue amount of space has here and there been given to the accounts of persons with but little title to be commemorated in a work of this sort. The paper, type, and binding are such as to gladden the eye of even the most finicky book-collector and the illustrations and maps are notable triumphs of artistic reproduction. If in the subsequent volumes the performance is commensurate with the promise of the first there is no doubt that the Encyclopedia will prove not only an armory of incalculable resource to the Catholic world, but also an achievement of far-reaching consequence in the Catholic history of the United States.

JOSEPH F. DELANY.

[These lines, which are intended as an historical record, rather than a criticism, would not be complete without the statement that the Catholic Encyclopedia has met with the warmest welcome by the critics, not only of America, but also of England and we may add of Germany. It is no exaggeration to say that the work has been noticed by more than hundreds of journals, not only Catholic but also non-Catholic. Our reviews, like the Catholic Quarterly, the Ecclesiastical, the New York Review, and Magazines, such as the Catholic World, as well as the host of Catholic weeklies, without exception received the volume with favor, not to say enthusiasm. The great New York dailies, like the Times and the Herald, were equally pro-

nounced in their recognition, and it is but just to say that the New York Churchman and the Outlook as well as other critical papers, denominational and undenominational, gave it a friendly reception.

The editors may well be proud of the warm recognition of their scholarship and management to be found in the London Tablet and the Month, and the London Times, while maintaining its well known attitude that nothing Catholic can be scientific, declares that the Encyclopedia is as scientific as anything Catholic can be, and lavishes on the work many well-deserved compliments.

We cannot close this article without referring to the long and scholarly notice contained in that veteran critical review, the Literarische Handweiser of Münster in Westphalia. How favorable was the impression made on its critic may be inferred from his statement that in some respects our American Encyclopedia is fuller and better than even Herder's Kirchenlexikon of which Germany and the Catholic world in general are so justly proud.—Editors.]

IRELAND UNDER ENGLISH RULE.

A PLEA FOR THE PLAINTIFF BY THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

AN over-critical person having read this work might quarrel with its subsidiary title. In the prosecution of the indictment which the centuries have drawn against English rule in Ireland, Dr. Emmet has in all conscience presented an overwhelmingly telling array of facts: But, nevertheless, his impeachment, vehement and relentless as it is, is by no means the mere *ex parte* statement which at times, it is taken for granted, must constitute the plea for the plaintiff. There is throughout the work a fearless appeal to authorities not to be suspected of bias in favor of Ireland; a fair-minded examination of clashing contentions, and, to a considerable degree, a certain poise which goes far to invest it with the deliberation of a judicial utterance rather than with the eager partisanship of an attorney's brief. Dr. Emmet has done a conspicuously valuable service for that part of the English-speaking public to which he chiefly addresses himself. It is not wonderful that he should have found it difficult to discover a publisher without special claim to Irish sympathies willing to undertake the task of printing the book. In recent years we have been treated to some extraordinary exhibitions of claptrap about the *entente cordiale* or shall we say, alliance which ought to prevail between England and America. The gentlemen who have indulged in such fervid after-dinner rhetoric about the kinship of the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon race, their common stock, common language, common civilization, and common, very common religion, would assuredly have given but a sorry welcome to a work whose purpose was to impugn the validity of England's canonization in the calendar of civic holiness.

The thesis of the author is that Ireland has never prospered

under English domination, and that this is because of English misrule. For this purpose he has drawn heavily upon the industrial, commercial and political history of the Green Isle, gathering the evidence for the counts in his accusation for the most part from sources hardly to be described as Irish. The result is a record of oppression which for shameless duplicity, truculent savagery, and consistent treachery, has hardly been equalled in the dealings of one civilized nation with another. The reader, in accordance with his already formed opinions on the subject or at any rate in response to his sympathies, may perhaps deem the manner of the writer's arraignment unduly severe, but he will not be able to escape the conviction that its matter is irrefutable. The theme, to be sure, is a well-worn one, but for those who require from the historian something more than the mere sententious recounting of facts, it is an always absorbingly interesting and profoundly pathetic story. In a signal way it furnishes proof that one nation may be ethnologically incompetent to govern another. It shows that there may be on the part of the rulers so little community of interest or tradition, so little oneness of intellectual vision or sympathy of moral measurement with the ruled, that no government is possible but that of a proconsul in a conquered province. In the attempt to lord it over the Irish Celt, the Saxon's power of organization became brutality, his wisdom degenerated into craft, his reverence was converted into sacrilege, his progress was another name for rapacity, his veneration for law gave the color of excuse for tyranny. Dr. Emmet in the picture he has painted for us, has not, it is true, spared his colors, but one can scarcely do otherwise if he is to present a truthful account of the spoliation and persecution which is almost, *ex integro*, the story of English sway in Ireland.

The single bright spot in the canvas is the period of eighteen years or so before the passage of the Act of Union. During that time the Irish Parliament had reclaimed and was exercising its independence, and the Irish people, taking advantage of this breathing space, bade fair to become prosperous and contented. Then came the Union, jammed through by means of

the most shocking bribery, and the door was closed again upon the nation's hopes. We who are glad and proud to remember what important contributions Irish exiles have made toward the upbuilding and preservation of the American Republic have a special indebtedness to Dr. Emmet. Irish blood has flowed so freely and Irish genius been employed so prodigally in the creation and maintenance of American liberties that we can not but be sensible of a very real interest in the sad history of a land to which we are under such particular obligations. Of course we can all yearn for that time when

"The common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

But meantime, in homage to historic justice, all fair-minded men as well as those of Irish blood will be grateful to Dr. Emmet for this work—"lest we forget."

JOSEPH F. DELANY.

THE DIOCESE OF NEW YORK IN 1830.

A LETTER FROM RIGHT REV. JOHN DUBOIS, D.D., BISHOP OF
NEW YORK, TO REV. ———, SECRETARY OF THE
ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE
FAITH, LYONS.

TRANSLATED BY JOHN E. CAHALAN, A.M.

Rome, March 16, 1830.

SIR:

I avail myself of a few moments of leisure at my disposal in Rome in order to furnish you with further information in regard to my diocese, which I could but hastily describe on my visit to Lyons, where the hearty welcome which I received reminded me of the charity of the primitive Church. I have read with much interest the *Annals* of the Association, a copy of which was sent to me by the editor. I was sorry to find no mention in it of the diocese of New York, one of the most important of the New World, and one of the most worthy to engage the sympathy of an Association so zealously devoted to the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ. It is certainly not the fault of the Association, which, even before I was aware of its existence and of the immense service which divine Providence is accomplishing through its agency, kindly sent me assistance upon the recommendation of the venerable Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda, into whose fatherly heart alone I had poured my woes, my troubles, and the endless difficulties which I had to overcome. Compelled at once to fill the office of bishop, priest, and catechist, if I ever absented myself for a few days from my city flock, it was but to run after those of my lambs which were scattered throughout the rest of my vast diocese. The journeying over a thousand leagues, or three thousand miles, in

order to visit them, was the only relaxation that I had to comfort me for the weariness of the confessional and my daily attendance on the sick; but alas! the weariness of the body is nothing in comparison to the anguish of mind which I experienced at sight of the endless number of neglected souls that I met on my way, who begged me for pastors, and to whom I could respond only with tears. So much occupation and labor prevented me from reading of what was taking place in Europe. It is from you, Sir, that I learned of the establishment of the Association, and of the share which it had condescended to give me in its benefits. This news came to relieve my sad feelings and to restore my courage, which had vanished on beholding the difficulties that were presented and my inability to meet them.

In order to give you an idea of my position, I must go back a step. I was at the head of the seminary at Emmitsburg, which I had founded and built, first of wood, and a second time in stone, (out of my savings); then this building having been burned down through an accident which no human prudence could have obviated, I was obliged to rebuild a third time. On that occasion I became indebted to the Association for a donation, the source of which I did not know; for Rev. Father Bruté, who had solicited it and had brought it to me, left me without any information on that point. The Emmitsburg Seminary had received before my eyes so many blessings during seventeen years, that I was very much attached to it, and my whole ambition was to devote to it the few years of my life yet remaining. But after the death of Mgr. Connolly, the second bishop of New York, the Holy Father determined to impose on me the heavy responsibility of that immense diocese. It was extremely hard for me to give up my seminary. The feeling of my unworthiness and of my weakness rendered obedience harder still. However, it was necessary to submit to the authority of God which made itself apparent through all the channels which he has established in his Church for our guidance. On the Sunday before All Saints' Day, in the year 1826, I was consecrated in the Metropolitan Church of Balti-

more, by the Ven. Bishop Maréchal, in the midst of a vast assemblage of my old students, who sought to pay this last mark of devotion to their old Father. My ring and pectoral cross were the gift of the venerable Mr. Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, one of those old patriarchs who are heart and soul devoted to our holy religion, and who use their wealth chiefly to do good. On All Saints' Day I took possession of my See. How deeply was my heart impressed at the sight of the immense throng that filled the Cathedral. I presume the number of the faithful present exceeded four thousand, and they were only the representatives of one hundred and fifty thousand others who were not present. How could I help being moved in thinking of that immense number of Protestants who lived within my diocese, outside the pale of the Church, and whom Jesus Christ desired that I should lead to Him, in order that there should be "but one flock and one shepherd."

Sensibly impressed with my own nothingness, yet full of confidence in the power of the Holy Ghost, I put my hand to the work. In what a pitiable condition I found this poor diocese when I began to examine it! There are at least thirty-five thousand Catholics in the city of New York, and probably one hundred and fifty thousand throughout the rest of the diocese: I say "probably," yet it may be that the number is still greater. In all the sections where I send my missionaries, or which I visit personally, I find ten times as many Catholics as I expected. Seven hundred are found where I understood there were but fifty or sixty; eleven hundred, where I was told to look for two hundred.

To accommodate this multitude there were but three churches in New York City at the time of my arrival, St. Peter's, which was the first established in this city, was built in great part through the bounty of their Royal Majesties of France and Spain.¹ The cathedral was built at the time the

¹ The Rector of St. Peter's in 1826 was Very Rev. John Power, V. G. The active, personal interest taken by Charles III. of Spain in the erection of St. Peter's, the first of the Catholic churches of New York, is generally conceded. But there seems to be no evidence that

See of New York was founded,² but only by the most incredible exertions of the Catholic population assisted by a certain number of good French people whom the Revolution had cast upon those shores. Unfortunately for religion, the greater part of these good French people returned to France after the Restoration. The edifice is not yet completed; it is burdened with a debt of \$24,000, and is bare of decoration, so indispensable to a temple of religion.

The third church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was bought from the Presbyterians.³ Since my arrival in New York I have purchased another which belonged to the Anglicans.⁴

Louis XVI. of France had any direct share in the good work. It is true, however, that the French Consul-General, Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur, was accounted a benefactor. The parish was organized under the pastorate of Rev. Father Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin, and the cornerstone of the first church was laid by the Spanish Ambassador, Don Diego de Gardoqui. According to the tablet which the present pastor, Rt. Rev. Mgr. James H. McGean, has caused to be placed in the sanctuary of St. Peter's, the parish was incorporated June 10, 1785, the cornerstone of the first edifice was laid Wednesday, October 5, 1785, and the church was opened, and the first Mass was said in it on the Feast of St. Charles Borromeo (November 4) in the year 1786, by the pastor, Rev. Father Nugent.

² St. Patrick's Cathedral, located "on Prince Street, between the Broadway and Bowery road." The cornerstone was laid Thursday, June 8, 1809, by Rev. Anthony Kohlman, S.J., pastor of St. Peter's, and Vicar-General, *sede vacante*, of the diocese of New York. The Cathedral was consecrated by Rt. Rev. Bishop Cheverus of Boston on May 4, 1815 (Ascension Day). The Rector in 1826 was Rev. T. C. Levins.

³ St. Mary's, then in Sheriff Street, near Broome, where it was first opened May 14, 1826, under the pastorate of Rev. Father Hatton Walsh, O.S.A.

⁴ Christ Church; then located in Ann Street, near William Street, the pastor being Rev. Felix Francisco José María de la Concepcion Varela y Morales. Rev. Father Varela had organized the parish and purchased the first church property in Ann Street in 1827. The building becoming insecure, the property was sold in 1833, and the proceeds employed in acquiring the present Church of St. James in James Street for the accommodation of a portion of the Ann Street congregation. To meet the wants of the others, a Presbyterian church was bought (at the personal expense of Rev. Father Varela) at No. 45 Chambers Street, opposite the City Hall Park. This church was dedicated March 31, 1836 and was named the Church of the Transfiguration. But as neither

I paid \$20,000 for it, which sum was loaned to me by a zealous Spaniard. I shall pay back this sum out of the pew rent.

But what signify these four churches for a Catholic population of at least thirty-five thousand souls, not to mention the Protestants who venture to attend, and whom it would never do to exclude, since when they come we have a chance to teach them the truth. Six churches more would be necessary, but alas! the funds are lacking, and the population, composed chiefly of poor immigrants, cannot stand the cost. How much better off are the Protestants than the children of light! They possess over seventy houses of worship. I cannot in this short letter explain the cause of this poverty among the Catholics of New York. Let it suffice to say that the Penal Laws of England directed against Catholics having been in force up to the time of the American Revolution, all property of any value was in the possession of Protestants when the Catholics came to New York, and that it will be only after a considerable time that they will become relatively independent. If meanwhile they are left to themselves they will lose the Faith, and the resources which they may gather by their industry, instead of being useful for religion, will become a fruitful aid to error.

Finding myself unable to obtain the means to build a church

St. James' nor the Transfiguration was ready for occupancy until at least two years after the abandonment of Christ Church, it is probable that the congregation kept together, and that a suitable place for religious services was secured near the original building. This conjecture seems to be supported by the New York City directories of the time. For in the directory of 1834-5, the church address is given, for the first time, at No. 45 Ann Street. It is given at the same address, but for the last time, in the directory of 1835-6, Rev. Fathers Varela and Schneller being mentioned as the priests in charge. Rev. Father Schneller became the first pastor of St. James', and Rev. Father Varela ceased to be the pastor of Christ Church and became pastor of the Transfiguration in Chambers Street. He held that charge until his death on February 18, 1853. Early in that year the Chambers Street property was sold, and out of the proceeds, the sum of thirty thousand dollars was applied to the purchase (April 30, 1853) of Zion Church, "at the corner of Mott and Cross Streets," for a new Church of the Transfiguration. Rev. Father Varela was a native of Cuba, and had at one time represented that country in the Spanish Cortes.

in a certain suburb where the Catholic population is quite large and too distant from other churches to be able to attend them, I was obliged to rent at \$200 a year a large hall capable of holding seven hundred or eight hundred people. It is an additional burden, falling entirely on myself, poor as I am; but what would I not do to save the souls confided to my care!⁵

If churches are wanting in New York City, how much more are they missed in the rest of the diocese! In a territory which has an area of 30,352,000 acres, I have but nine churches worthy of the name, and these are from two to three hundred miles apart.⁶ In addition there are a few small chapels in private houses. Two churches had become too small, and I was compelled to replace them with others more commodious, and to advance the money for the purpose. Just here I may explain how I used the two sums of money which the Association was kind enough to allow me in the years 1828 and 1829. They were not sufficient to warrant me in building a seminary, without which religion can never be solidly established in the diocese. A part of those funds, however, was used to pay off the debt of a church in Newark, a little town in New Jersey belonging to my diocese, and situated about nine miles from New York. This church was about to be sold to satisfy a mortgage. Another part of the money was used to aid the Catholics in the city of Albany, the capital of the State, to build a church in place of their little chapel, which would not hold a third of the congregation. Feeling confident that these two congregations will be able to repay me by degrees, I thought it better to advance the moneys merely as a loan. When these two sums are refunded I shall apply them to the

⁵ Allusion is here made to the congregation at the suburb then known as Greenwich Village, where the parish of St. Joseph was subsequently established.

⁶ Among those indicated were probably the following: St. Mary's, Albany; St. Peter's, Troy, Rev. John Shanahan, pastor; St. John's, Utica, Rev. Hatton Walsh, pastor; St. Patrick's, Rochester, Rev. Patrick Kelly, pastor; St. John's, Newark, Rev. Gregory Bryan Pardow, pastor; St. James', Brooklyn; St. James', Carthage; and the church at Paterson built in 1821 by Rev. Richard Bulger.

most urgent needs of my diocese, and above all to the establishment of the seminary.

Had I been unable to redeem the Newark church, I would have had the sorrow of beholding a Catholic temple become a Protestant place of worship. Moreover, the congregation would have been scattered, whereas at present I have the great joy of seeing it prosper and grow stronger day by day. As to Albany, the poor Catholics of that city would never have ventured on the building of their church if I had not given the first assistance. They are now making extraordinary efforts to complete the building, and even Protestants perceiving their zeal, have come forward to assist them. I must proceed in this same manner in order to provide the many churches needed throughout the diocese.

You will then readily comprehend, Sir, how greatly my dear flock and I admire the noble spirit which animates the excellent Association without whose help everything would have remained as it was. God knows that we cherish these noble benefactors, remembering them especially before the altar where the divine Victim is offered up, and that we give them a share in all our prayers and in the good works which divine Providence enables us to accomplish.

In the visitation that I made through a part of my diocese before leaving for Europe, I covered three thousand miles or a thousand leagues alone, because I could not afford the expense of taking a priest with me, and I heard more than two thousand confessions. At Buffalo, near Niagara Falls, where a worthy Frenchman had given me a splendid plot for a church, I found seven or eight hundred Catholics comprising French-Canadians, Swiss, Irish and Germans, in place of the fifty or sixty which I had been told I should meet there. Although I do not understand German, I was compelled to hear the confessions of more than two hundred Swiss, who understood neither English nor French. I accomplished it by means of interpreters; but in such a way that the interpreters themselves understood nothing about the confessions of these poor people. It was a method long ago forced on me by necessity in the missions when I would

meet foreigners or Indians whose language I did not understand. These good souls were intensely delighted to be able to receive the Sacraments. I celebrated High Mass in the courthouse, in the presence of over eight hundred people, Protestants and Catholics. An altar had been erected on the bench usually occupied by the judges. The presence of a bishop, the celebration of Mass, the large number of communicants, the beauty and solemnity of the music, the administration of Baptism, which I conferred on thirty or forty persons, made a profound impression upon all. What particularly affected everybody was the consecration of the ground set apart for the building of the church⁷ and seminary. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the hour I had fixed for this ceremony to begin, I found those excellent people, men, women, and children, gathered in the courthouse, where I robed myself in the pontifical vestments. Without any instructions from me, they arranged themselves four abreast to march from there to the cemetery which is about a mile and a half away. Four old white-headed men began the rosary aloud in German. The French, English and Germans present recited the second part of the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in their own language. Each side of the road was lined with the inhabitants of the town drawn together by this ceremony. The good order and respect, as well as the devotion that shone on all these countenances, especially on those of the four elders who led the procession, afforded a wonderful sight to the Protestant multitude present. When the head of the procession reached the cemetery the end had hardly left the courthouse. Upon arriving at the cemetery these good Swiss sang the psalms and litanies specified in the ritual for the blessing of the cemetery, and it was after sundown when we separated. On the following day, the day appointed for my departure, several Catholics who had been unaware of my presence until informed of it by those who had taken part in the ceremonies, came to visit me. I had to hear more confessions, to baptize a number of children, and to regularize certain marriages.

⁷ The Church of St. Louis.

keep up the other. All that they needed was a house for their novitiate and principal school. They also asked to be placed under the exclusive jurisdiction of the bishop, so as not to be subject to the caprice of rulers who might dismiss them when they would become old and worn out by teaching, and fill their places with favorites having no religion. This request was refused. Our liberal Americans were willing enough to contribute towards the purchase of a house, but upon the condition that they should have control over the property and over the society, an arrangement which would have placed all Catholic education in the hands of those who, irreligious themselves, would continue the abuses that already prevailed in the cathedral school. Hence I was forced to refuse a gift joined to a condition so unsatisfactory.

How much more I might say on the subject of my Indian tribes, whom heresy has for a long time corrupted or, in better words, has cajoled with the semblance of religion! They might, however, still be brought back to the true faith through the influence of the good tribe of St. Regis. This plan would be all the easier to accomplish as the Protestants have taught the Indians only those hymns which draw together the worst characters in the neighborhood. Nor will I expatiate on all those Catholic settlements scattered broadcast over my diocese, and which clamor for religious assistance; nor again on the many counties that I have not yet visited and where, I am told, I shall find thousands of Catholics; nor will I dwell on the need I have of a hospital in New York, where a number of the emigrants who daily arrive and suffer for want of attention might regain both corporal and spiritual health. These sick people are huddled together in the only hospital available,* which is three miles distant from the city, and is administered by Protestants. In order to provide for the spiritual wants of more than seven hundred Catholic sick who are in that institution, and who had previously been unavoidably neglected, I had to share my loaf with two priests whom I appointed to

* Bellevue Hospital is probably the hospital to which reference is made.

take care of them. Nor can I do more than mention the great number of widows and orphans left in the city by poor emigrants who died soon after their arrival.

All these are matters of direful importance; yet before all I must establish an apostolic nursery, and it is by no means easy to acquire a seminary in New York, where land costs \$10,000 or \$12,000 an acre. My idea is to unite a college with the seminary, as I did so happily in the Baltimore diocese, so as to defray the expenses of the seminary out of the income of the college. I shall have very little difficulty in starting this establishment, and when begun it will be self-sustaining. Apart from the benefit to the Church, what immense advantages will the college not present in the way of Catholic education in a country where there is no alternative for the education of the young but to send them to England with its many temptations, or to place them in colleges where the lack of discipline is the smallest drawback. How sorry I have felt when passing near Princeton College, one of the foremost institutions in the United States, to behold boys of from ten to fourteen years of age smoking cigars at the door of the hotels where they reside, and to find out that quite as little restraint was placed on their drinking propensities as on this habit of smoking, so injurious to those of their age. As to Harvard, a still more notable institution, it is enough to remark that, in addition to this unbridled license as enjoyed by the scholars at Princeton, the expenses are so high that boys are discontented unless they can dispose of \$1500 a year.

You see then, Sir, by this account how great are my needs. I am aware that the Association for the Propagation of the Faith extends its hand liberally—that, in its immense charity, it takes in the whole world. But I would point to all those souls which are being lost, and I would say to you, copying St. Vincent de Paul in his peculiar address to the Sisters of Charity who were getting discouraged at sight of the immense number of orphan children, “Cease for a moment to be fathers and become our judges. Pronounce the judgment. If you help they will live, if you cast them off they will die. Decide!”

keep up the other. All that they needed was a house for their novitiate and principal school. They also asked to be placed under the exclusive jurisdiction of the bishop, so as not to be subject to the caprice of rulers who might dismiss them when they would become old and worn out by teaching, and fill their places with favorites having no religion. This request was refused. Our liberal Americans were willing enough to contribute towards the purchase of a house, but upon the condition that they should have control over the property and over the society, an arrangement which would have placed all Catholic education in the hands of those who, irreligious themselves, would continue the abuses that already prevailed in the cathedral school. Hence I was forced to refuse a gift joined to a condition so unsatisfactory.

How much more I might say on the subject of my Indian tribes, whom heresy has for a long time past corrupted or, in better words, has cajoled with the semblance of religion! They might, however, still be brought back to the true faith through the influence of the good tribe of St. Regis. This plan would be all the easier to accomplish as the Protestants have taught the Indians only those hymns which draw together the worst characters in the neighborhood. Nor will I expatiate on all those Catholic settlements scattered broadcast over my diocese, and which clamor for religious assistance; nor again on the many counties that I have not yet visited and where, I am told, I shall find thousands of Catholics; nor will I dwell on the need I have of a hospital in New York, where a number of the emigrants who daily arrive and suffer for want of attention might regain both corporal and spiritual health. These sick people are huddled together in the only hospital available,* which is three miles distant from the city, and is administered by Protestants. In order to provide for the spiritual wants of more than seven hundred Catholic sick who are in that institution, and who had previously been unavoidably neglected, I had to share my loaf with two priests whom I appointed to

* Bellevue Hospital is probably the hospital to which reference is made.

take care of them. Nor can I do more than mention the great number of widows and orphans left in the city by poor emigrants who died soon after their arrival.

All these are matters of direful importance; yet before all I must establish an apostolic nursery, and it is by no means easy to acquire a seminary in New York, where land costs \$10,000 or \$12,000 an acre. My idea is to unite a college with the seminary, as I did so happily in the Baltimore diocese, so as to defray the expenses of the seminary out of the income of the college. I shall have very little difficulty in starting this establishment, and when begun it will be self-sustaining. Apart from the benefit to the Church, what immense advantages will the college not present in the way of Catholic education in a country where there is no alternative for the education of the young but to send them to England with its many temptations, or to place them in colleges where the lack of discipline is the smallest drawback. How sorry I have felt when passing near Princeton College, one of the foremost institutions in the United States, to behold boys of from ten to fourteen years of age smoking cigars at the door of the hotels where they reside, and to find out that quite as little restraint was placed on their drinking propensities as on this habit of smoking, so injurious to those of their age. As to Harvard, a still more notable institution, it is enough to remark that, in addition to this unbridled license as enjoyed by the scholars at Princeton, the expenses are so high that boys are discontented unless they can dispose of \$1500 a year.

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I paid \$20,000 for it, which sum was loaned to me by a zealous Spaniard. I shall pay back this sum out of the pew rent.

But what signify these four churches for a Catholic population of at least thirty-five thousand souls, not to mention the Protestants who venture to attend, and whom it would never do to exclude, since when they come we have a chance to teach them the truth. Six churches more would be necessary, but alas! the funds are lacking, and the population, composed chiefly of poor immigrants, cannot stand the cost. How much better off are the Protestants than the children of light! They possess over seventy houses of worship. I cannot in this short letter explain the cause of this poverty among the Catholics of New York. Let it suffice to say that the Penal Laws of England directed against Catholics having been in force up to the time of the American Revolution, all property of any value was in the possession of Protestants when the Catholics came to New York, and that it will be only after a considerable time that they will become relatively independent. If meanwhile they are left to themselves they will lose the Faith, and the resources which they may gather by their industry, instead of being useful for religion, will become a fruitful aid to error.

Finding myself unable to obtain the means to build a church

St. James' nor the Transfiguration was ready for occupancy until at least two years after the abandonment of Christ Church, it is probable that the congregation kept together, and that a suitable place for religious services was secured near the original building. This conjecture seems to be supported by the New York City directories of the time. For in the directory of 1834-5, the church address is given, for the first time, at No. 45 Ann Street. It is given at the same address, but for the last time, in the directory of 1835-6, Rev. Fathers Varela and Schneller being mentioned as the priests in charge. Rev. Father Schneller became the first pastor of St. James', and Rev. Father Varela ceased to be the pastor of Christ Church and became pastor of the Transfiguration in Chambers Street. He held that charge until his death on February 18, 1853. Early in that year the Chambers Street property was sold, and out of the proceeds, the sum of thirty thousand dollars was applied to the purchase (April 30, 1853) of Zion Church, "at the corner of Mott and Cross Streets," for a new Church of the Transfiguration. Rev. Father Varela was a native of Cuba, and had at one time represented that country in the Spanish Cortes.

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Oh! yes, France is undoubtedly the eldest daughter, I was going to say the foster-mother, of the Church. God will pay her back a hundred-fold the blessings which she bestows on us so abundantly.

St. Gregory, on his death-bed, inquired how many unbelievers remained in his cathedral city. "Seventeen," was the answer. "God be praised!" replied the great saint, "it is exactly the number of faithful I found here on taking possession." Such a triumph can be the reward of no less a saint than St. Gregory; but if I can die with the blessed satisfaction of having preserved the faithful who have been placed in my charge, perhaps even of having added to the number, or at the least of having imparted a stimulus to this immense body, I shall die in peace.

Excuse me, Sir, for having intruded upon you so long. I have jotted down hastily what my heart has dictated. I have appealed to you on behalf of my spiritual children; you will not blame me for taking a fatherly interest in them.

Dispose of this letter as you may judge proper. Use portions of it only, if you think fit. Excuse also the selfishness which may seem to permeate my affections. Alas! if you perceive the longing that I have to help my flock, you will also perceive that I have really accomplished nothing so far, and that I have many reasons to feel humbled, and to regret that so serious a responsibility should have been placed on shoulders so frail as mine.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration and heartfelt gratitude,

Yours, etc.,

JOHN, *Bishop of New York.*

NECROLOGY.

THE REV. FREDERIC WILLIAM WAYRICH.

BY REV. HENRY A. BRANN, D.D.

This talented clergyman and eloquent pulpit orator, who was a zealous member of the Catholic Historical Society, was born on August 19, 1834, in the village of Hüttigweiler in the parish of Illingen in the diocese of Trier, in the Rhine province of the old kingdom of Prussia. He was baptized on the same day by the parish priest of Illingen. Thus reads the baptismal record: "In the year of Our Lord 1834 on the 19th of August was born and on the same day was re-born Frederic William, legitimate son of Francis Wayrich and Elizabeth Bermann, his wife, in Hüttigweiler; his godparents being Frederic William III., King of the Prussians, and Anna Maria Kessler of Hüttigweiler.

"Signed,

"HELLEBRAND,

"*Pastor.*"

Father Wayrich in a note gives the reason for the name which he received in baptism. As he was the seventh son, and consequently entitled to certain privileges by a custom in the Prussian kingdom, he was named after the reigning King Frederic William III., who was his godfather by proxy.

In the early forties of the last century he came with his parents to America, who settled near the old fortress of the German Catholicity of New York City, the Redemptorist Church in East Third Street. He attended the parochial school attached to the church for some years and made his First Communion there on April 26, 1846. As he was bright, intellectual, and a good singer, he became a favorite altar boy among the Redemptorists, so that one of them began to teach him Latin, which he learned rapidly, and he became afterwards

an excellent Latin scholar. He was confirmed on September 12, 1847, by Bishop, afterwards Archbishop Hughes of New York. The fostering care of the good Redemptorists developed a vocation for their Congregation in young Wayrich, so that he entered their novitiate in Maryland where he was one of their best students, devoting himself arduously to the acquisition of the classics and of the theological sciences. On October 6, 1855, he received the first tonsure and the four minor orders in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Cumberland, Md., from the hands of the then Archbishop of Baltimore, the Most Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, D.D. In the same place, on April 30, 1857, he was ordained subdeacon, and on May 1st of the same year he was elevated to the diaconship by the saintly Bishop of Philadelphia, Pa., John N. Neumann. On May 29, 1858, the Archbishop who had given him the first tonsure ordained him priest in the Church of St. Alphonsus, Baltimore. He came to New York to sing his first solemn Mass surrounded by his family and numerous friends in the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer on June 6, 1858.

On September 1, 1858, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the house of studies of the Redemptorists at Cumberland, and continued to teach that fundamental science of all scholars, particularly of theologians and preachers, until 1861. Then he was sent out to the battlefield of the missions. For nine years he traveled over the country, giving missions and retreats in large cities and towns, acquiring an ever-increasing reputation for eloquence, for piety, and for zeal. He had all the qualities of an orator; a splendid presence, a magnetic manner, a clear, resonant voice, a logical mind, learning tinged with a poetic vein, and strong emotional qualities.

In 1870 his missionary career was interrupted by his superiors who sent him to build the new Church of St. Alphonsus in Thompson street, New York. Here, as pastor, he overcame many difficulties, financial and administrative, and finished the church in April, 1872, when his friend and admirer, the Most Rev. John McCloskey, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of New York, dedicated the edifice.

In 1873 he was again assigned to the missions, in which he served for seven years more, showing in this second epoch of his missionary career a more mature intelligence and a more finished style of oratory. He became also a favorite preacher of retreats to nuns and to priests, among whom he labored with apostolic zeal and with great popularity and success.

In the month of July, 1880, he was appointed rector of St. Alphonsus' Church which he had built in New York ten years before; and he continued to discharge the office of rector of that church until May, 1893, a period of thirteen years. During that time he was appointed by the Archbishop for several years one of the diocesan consultors of New York. In 1893 he was removed from New York and commissioned rector of the Church of St. Joseph, Rochester, a church belonging to the Redemptorist Fathers, which he governed, however, only for a short time, until November 19, 1894. His health now began to break down physically and mentally; his voice was growing weaker, his step slower, his energy less. Old age and hard work were telling on him. His Superior General, Father Nicholas Mauron, having died in July, 1894, the new General, Father Mathias Raus, appointed Father Wayrich to lighter work in the parish of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in the city and diocese of Brooklyn, N.Y. Here he became very ill, and was compelled to betake himself to St. Vincent's Hospital, New York, for treatment. After convalescence, with the permission of his provincial, Father Lety, he took a trip in the month of July, 1896, to California, with his friend Father Anthony Kessler, rector of St. Joseph's Church, New York, who was afterwards drowned at sea in the French steamer the "Bourgogne."

On his return from California, Father Wayrich, in August, 1896, was assigned to duty in the parish of the Immaculate Conception, East 150th Street, Bronx, and there became so ill that he had to go to St. Francis' Hospital, East 143d Street, for treatment in 1897. His Superiors then thought that a complete change of air would restore his health, so they sent him to assist in administering the parish of St. Peter, in St. John's, New Brunswick, British America. But the change did not

benefit him, so on July 3, 1897, he retired, with permission, to Flushing, Long Island, where he was for some time the guest of his friend, Dean Donnelly, the pastor of the place. In the month of September of the same year the Redemptorist Father Visitor, Father Schwartz, sent him to St. Mary's Church, Buffalo, N. Y., where he remained only a short time. His health broken, his nervous system strained, irritated by the constant changes of place, he asked and obtained from the General of the Redemptorists a dispensation from his obligations to the Congregation, which he left on July 11, 1898, and came to the city of New York, where he remained a short time with his friend the Benedictine Abbot Edelbrock. A parish was now offered him in the diocese of Newark by the then Bishop Wigger of saintly memory; but he preferred New York, where Archbishop Corrigan kindly received him, gave him the faculties of the diocese, and after a short period of service at St. Mary's Church, Mount Vernon, and at St. Joseph's Church in West 125th Street, appointed him chaplain of the Leo House in State street. On June 18, 1901, he was transferred from State street and sent to found a new German parish at Stapleton, Staten Island. He bought the ground necessary for the purpose, laid the cornerstone of the Church on October 20, 1901, and had it dedicated on April 9, 1902, with the title of St. John Baptist de la Salle, who had very recently been canonized. This is most probably the first church in the United States dedicated to that saint, the great patron of the Christian Brothers and of Christian schools.

He remained in Stapleton until July 14, 1904, when he became so seriously ill that he had to resign his charge. In August, 1904, he was able to do light work at Hartsdale, Westchester County, where he became the chaplain of the Sisters of Mercy in that salubrious neighborhood. Thence, after a short interval of duty in St. Joseph's, West 125th Street, once the home of his old friend, Father Kessler, he was transferred to the chaplaincy of Seton Hospital for Consumptives, where he died of pneumonia on the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, March 7, 1907. His funeral took place from St. Patrick's Cathedral, on March 9th. Archbishop Farley pronounced the



RT. REV. MGR. PATRICK F. MCSWEENEY, D.D., LL.D.



REV. FREDERIC WILLIAM WAYRICH.

last absolution, and Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D., preached the funeral sermon.

Three times during his life Father Wayrich was honorably mentioned for a miter, once for Newark, N.J., again for Savannah, Ga., and for Charleston, S.C.

He was a man of an affectionate nature and of great simplicity of character. Hence he sometimes made mistakes, for he suspected no one of intrigue or perfidy. He was frank, outspoken, and sincere. He was talented, eloquent, and well informed, remarkably charitable and forgiving in deed as in word.

RIGHT REV. PATRICK FRANCIS MCSWEENEY, D.D.

BY REV. EDWARD MCSWEENEY, D.D.

Right Rev. Patrick Francis McSweeney, D.D., rector of St. Brigid's, New York, one of the oldest members of the *United States Catholic Historical Society*, was born in Cork, July 9, 1838. He came to this country with his father in 1849, and first attended the Jesuit College in Cincinnati. He was for a while in Villanova, near Philadelphia, but finished his classical course at St. Francis Xavier's, New York, where he had for college-mates Dr. Herbermann, Dr. John Mooney, Dr. Brann, Bishop Wigger, and other prominent ecclesiastics and laymen. In 1856 he went to Rome and remained for six years at the Propaganda, graduating Doctor of Philosophy in 1858, and Doctor of Theology in 1862.

On his return to New York he became assistant at the old cathedral, Mott street, with Fathers McGean and Kearney, who, together with himself, were invested with the prelatical purple forty-four years later.

For many years Monsignor McSweeney was engaged in the missions of the Hudson, and while pastor in Poughkeepsie, made, in 1873, with Cardinal McCloskey's approval, an arrangement whereby the Board of Education there maintained St. Peter's Catholic public schools. The "plan," as it was called, continued to operate for twenty-five years, and succeeded

in raising the standard of instruction in those schools, while Catholic education in them was looked after carefully as before, the Board doubling the number of teachers and paying salaries twice as large as the priest had been able to give. All the teachers, Sisters and lay persons, were Catholics nominated by the pastor.

Cardinal Persico about the same period succeeded in bringing about a similar condition in Savannah, while at New Haven, Elmira, etc., some like arrangement was made with the local authorities.

In 1877 Monsignor McSweeney returned to New York and, becoming pastor of St. Brigid's, remained there till his death, February 24, 1907.

The Archbishop chanted his requiem and Monsignor Burt-sell, his classmate of the Propaganda, preached the funeral discourse. Bishops McDonnell and Cusack; Rt. Rev. Vicars General Mooney, Lavelle and Edwards; Monsignors McCready, O'Keeffe, Barrett, Lynch and McKenna, assisted in the sanctuary, while Monsignors McGean and Kearney were deacons of honor to the Most Rev. Archbishop. Dr. Edward McSweeney, of Mount St. Mary's, Maryland, a brother of the deceased, was Arch-priest of the Mass. A large number of pastors and assistants were also present, besides a large throng of people from St. Bridget's and other parishes. Monsignor Lammel conducted the music of the service. *R. I. P.*

VERY REV. DENIS PAUL O'FLYNN, P.R.

BY REV. THOMAS McMILLAN, C.S.P.

BORN May 24, 1848, in Ardprior, parish of Buttevant, County Cork, Denis Paul O'Flynn received his early education at St. Colman's College, Fermoy, Ireland. His later studies were made in France. After finishing his theological course with distinction he was ordained at Louvain University July 27, 1873, and was honored with the degree of Licentiate of Sacred

Theology. Shortly after his ordination Father O'Flynn was enrolled among the priests of New York. He was first assigned to the Church of the Immaculate Conception on East Fourteenth Street, where he remained three years. In the year 1878 he was appointed rector of St. Mary's Church at Saugerties, Ulster County, N.Y. Here he did effective work for the advancement of the Faith during fourteen years. By his promotion to the office of Rural Dean he became a trusted adviser and leader among his brother priests. For a brief period in the year 1889 he acted as Vicar Apostolic of the Bahama Islands for the Archbishop of New York. The most conspicuous part of Father O'Flynn's active career dated from his appointment as permanent rector of St. Joseph's Church, Sixth Avenue and Washington Place, in 1892. From that time until his lamented death, August 22, 1906, he labored strenuously aided by his devoted curates and the generous cooperation of his parishioners. Owing to changed conditions and enlarged population in the territory committed to his care, he quickly arranged plans for the commodious fire-proof school building which will remain for long years as a fitting monument to his zeal in the cause of Christian education. In order to secure the space needed for the school he was obliged to pull down the old rectory and erect a new one fronting on the adjoining street, known as Waverly Place. Many difficulties of management confronted the zealous pastor during the construction of the new buildings, especially the problem of providing for the increased expenditure. His forcible appeals to his people elicited a generous response, so that the receipts of St. Joseph's Church at this time far surpassed the record of any previous period in the history of the parish. The wisdom of his plans as shown in the elegant outlines of the architecture, choice of material and solid construction came to be admired far and wide. Visitors from distant places, as well as others near at home, cheerfully conceded that the new school and the new rectory, requiring persistent personal effort on the part of Father O'Flynn, were model buildings worthy of imitation and well adapted to their needs.

His general benevolence won for him a large circle of friends. In his years of vigorous health he had a giant strength of endurance, and his heart was in proportion to the size of his body. The Ladies of Calvary, whose home for cancer patients was under his care, and the inmates of St. Vincent's Hospital had daily proofs of his sympathy and kindly compassion. Jefferson Market Court House—within two blocks of his rectory—furnished many applicants for reform, advice, and financial assistance.

Father O'Flynn frequently displayed his good will towards those engaged in missionary labors, not only by liberal stipends to the workers who came to his own parish, but also by his cordial appreciation of results bearing on the general welfare of the Church. He was the first among New York City rectors to welcome the new band of the Apostolate Fathers formed by Bishop Cusack, with the cooperation of the Rev. Walter Elliott, C.S.P. His well chosen library was bequeathed to the Paulist Fathers.

When the Constitutional Convention of New York State assembled to revise and change the fundamental laws at Albany in 1894, there was good reason for alarm among the defenders of Catholic interests. By secret circulars and anonymous cartoons sent broadcast through the agency of bigots masquerading under the plausible title of "The League for the Protection of American Institutions," it was made to appear a patriotic duty to check the growth of Catholic schools, and abolish all forms of appropriation for charitable projects under denominational management.

After long discussion and a most rigorous inspection conducted by a committee from the Constitutional Convention the decision was given against the frantic appeals of those who opposed State aid for dependent children in buildings provided by the funds of philanthropic members of Churches. In regard to the attitude of the State towards Catholics engaged in maintaining elementary schools, the condition was most unsatisfactory after the Constitutional Convention adjourned. The objection was raised that the claims of the Catholic parochial

school had not been fully presented to the law makers, and that the policy of self-defense required a vigorous denial of the misrepresentations spread abroad by malicious enemies. Other indications were not wanting to show that new attacks were contemplated, and that a defensive movement was imperatively needed to restate the convictions of Catholic citizens with reference to the schools supported exclusively by their own money. Father O'Flynn's early fondness for legal studies, especially in the department of Canon law, led him to take a leading part in this new discussion on behalf of Catholic schools throughout the whole State of New York. He gave a cordial welcome at his house to all having opinions to offer bearing on different phases of this important question. At a later date, in conjunction with a committee appointed by Archbishop Corrigan, he made numerous journeys, gathering information from local representatives as to the best methods of opposing the determined enemies of Catholic education.

By means of the agitation resulting from this wide-spread combination of forces certain hostile enactments proposed to the New York Legislature were defeated. It was deemed advisable, following the suggestions of expert legal advisers, to prepare an affirmative statement not merely to refute false testimony, but to uphold the principle of public taxation for universal education, and to show that Catholics could work in harmony with the demands of any public system of education, while maintaining their undeniable right to secure moral and religious instruction for their own children. This statement was sent to all public officials, and for its historical value it is here appended.

CATHOLIC CITIZENS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The parish school is a factor in the public educational work of the United States and should not be classified under the heading of private schools, in which large tuition fees are charged and social distinctions recognized to favor the children of the wealthy. No such limitations are met with in the parish

schools, founded and supported, with few exceptions, by representatives of the common people.

According to existing laws in New York State, citizens have the unquestionable right as parents and guardians to provide for the religious and secular education of their children. This right is exercised by the educational associations, formed within parish boundaries, to establish and perpetuate parish schools chiefly for kindergarten training and elementary instruction. The citizens who form these societies are sincerely devoted to the public welfare, and would quickly resent any imputation against their patriotism. They demand for their children definite and dogmatic religious instruction, according to the faith professed by at least two hundred and fifty millions of Catholics throughout the world. It is well understood that the teaching of religion is not within the power of the State: neither can the public funds be used in aid or in maintenance of any particular form of religious belief.

At the present time, in New York State, the patrons of Christian education are paying from their own hard-earned money the cost of educating about one hundred and fifty thousand children in the Catholic parish schools. For the defence of their conscientious convictions, they have erected in many places commodious fire-proof buildings, thus relieving their fellow-citizens of a large amount of local taxation. Another important claim is in the fact, that this arduous work of training the young in Christian virtue is an immense advantage to the State. It leads to the highest type of citizenship and supplies a most effective antidote to false socialistic theories. Surely, a public recognition of the voluntary efforts of parents to educate their own children would not demand a union of Church and State. It would require only an act of long-delayed justice to indicate grateful appreciation of the loyal citizens whose millions of dollars are spent in the support of parish schools. Public thanks are given to other citizens for gifts representing much less expenditure, and of much less value to the public welfare. From the statistics given in this pamphlet, the calculation can be easily made as to the total

expense on the basis of twenty-five dollars a year, as the cost of each pupil. By adding the cost of buildings and property, the figures for New York State are to be found high up in the millions.

In presenting our claim to fair-minded citizens, it is assumed as a starting point that the parish schools can and ought willingly to provide for the entire expense of imparting religious instruction. Among reasonable people a basis of agreement can also be made on equitable terms by which these parish schools—without losing their autonomy—may cooperate with any board of education in the teaching of the secular studies prescribed for citizenship. The managers, according to this plan, legally transfer the control of the secular studies to a board, authorized by the State, when they consent to accept the public standard of examination and inspection. Between Church and State the present relations could be continued without friction, by granting this equitable demand for recognition, together with payment for results, strictly limited to the teaching of the secular studies. To pay for the teaching of arithmetic or other similar studies does not bring the State outside of its bounden duty to provide for representation as well as for taxation. Phantom objections, from bygone bigots, may be placed in evidence, but it is to be hoped that sound thinkers will now give serious consideration to the real facts of the case. The American principle of fair play and no favor can be applied to remove, in part at least, the unjust burden imposed upon the patrons of parish schools.

The members of the undersigned Committee represent the City of New York, which is the largest centre of Catholic population in the United States, and is under the patronage of the glorious Saint Patrick. We venture to express the hope that this appeal will have a wide circulation among Catholics and non-Catholics. It contains a frank statement of a grievance that should be faced by all who wish to advance the welfare of our beloved country, and to make the American flag a symbol of justice to all God-fearing men. The leaders in Catholic organizations seeking to promote religious zeal, civic virtue and

fraternity among their members, may safely be trusted to spread abroad the figures herein given, and to insist that the editors of papers, supported by their patronage, shall give some space to discussions of their cherished convictions. A similar policy should be adopted towards every public official, responsible for the publication of educational statistics. In the past there has been evidence of a conspiracy of silence in regard to Catholic education.

During fifty years or more in New York City, large numbers were taught in the parish schools lessons of Christian virtue and patriotism. Thousands of these graduates are now voters, able and willing to give proof of their capacity for citizenship and success in business. To them especially it will be a labor of love to assist in the movement to remove false impressions and bring about a better understanding of the gigantic work that has been done in Catholic schools for God and our Country.

Committee of New York Catholic School Board.	{	Right Rev. MONSIGNOR MOONEY, LL.D., V.G., <i>Director of the Sacred Heart School.</i>
		Very Rev. DENIS PAUL O'FLYNN, <i>Director of St. Joseph's School.</i>
		Rev. MICHAEL J. LAVELLE, LL.D., <i>Director of St. Patrick's Cathedral School.</i>
		Rev. THOMAS McMILLAN, C.S.P., <i>Director of Schools of Paulist Fathers.</i>

WILLIAM SCHICKEL.

William Schickel, a member of the *United States Catholic Historical Society*, one of the leading architects of the metropolis, died in New York on June 14, leaving a record of many and remarkable achievements in his profession.

He was born in Wiesbaden, Germany, in 1850 and emigrated to New York twenty years later. He devoted himself largely to ecclesiastical work, and some of his ideals are embodied in the Churches of St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Monica, and

St. Joseph, New York, St. Joseph's Seminary at Dunwoodie, the Jesuit Novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson, St. Francis', St. Joseph's, and St. Vincent's Hospitals, New York, and many other institutions as well as many residences and business buildings. Early in his career he returned to his native land and was there married to Miss Elise Schumacher who, with seven children, survives him. One of his daughters, Agnes, was received as a religious of the Sacred Heart in the convent at Kenwood, N.Y., a few days before his death which was quite sudden, following a serious surgical operation.

JAMES J. MCKENNA.

James J. McKenna, for many years a member of the *United States Catholic Historical Society*, died December 21, 1906, at Ridgewood, N.J. Mr. McKenna was born in New York City in 1850. His family were for many years prominent members of St. Peter's parish. His uncle and father were a well known and highly respected firm of brass founders, of which Mr. McKenna became a member, after attending the College of St. Francis Xavier's. For many years he successfully directed the work of the firm which passed into his hands after the death of his father. All who dealt with the deceased recognized in him the soul of honesty and honor, for Mr. McKenna never forgot in practical life the principles of virtue which his parents had instilled into him by word and example, and which, as a loyal Catholic, he always professed.

In 1876, he married Mary, daughter of John P. O'Neill. His married life was most happy, and blessed with two children, James and Anna, all of whom survive him.

Retiring in disposition and absorbed in his family and business duties, Mr. McKenna did not seek political position. His patriotism, however, lead him to serve the State in the 7th Regiment, where his manly, straight-forward character was fully appreciated as is shown by his being for many years a member of the board of officers in the regiment.

